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ABSTRACT

This packet contains student materials and a teacher's guide. The materials engage students in the leading issues driving the current immigration debate. Students explore background materials and debate policy options as to what the U.S. immigration policy should be. The student booklet contains background essays on: (1) "The Role of Immigration in the American Experience"; (2) "A New Generation of Newcomers"; and (3) "Assessing the Impact of Immigration." Students are presented options as to what the U.S. immigration policy should be. Options include: (1) "Opening Ourselves to the World"; (2) "Balancing Our Responsibilities"; (3) "Competing in a Competitive World"; and (4) "Recognizing Our Limits." Supplementary documents are included to enhance the study of the policy question. The Teacher's Resource Book contains lesson plans for 5 days and an alternative 3-day lesson plan. (EH)

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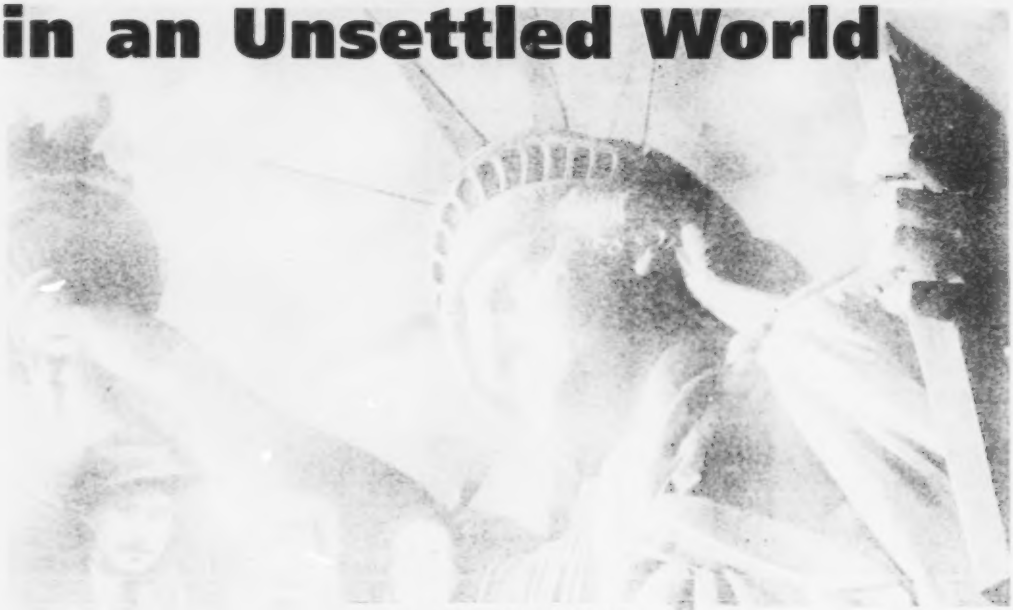
U.S. Immigration Policy in an Unsettled World



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PUBLIC POLICY DEBATE IN THE CLASSROOM

Choices for the 21st Century Education Project

A program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies

Brown University

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The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

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Thomas J. Biersteker
Director

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Suggested Reading

Beck, Roy. *The Case against Immigration: The Moral, Economic, Social, and Environmental Reasons for Reducing U.S. Immigration back to Traditional Levels* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996). 287 pages.

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Portes, Alejandro. *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). 281 pages.

Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr. *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992). 160 pages.

Ungar, Sanford J. *Fresh Blood: The New American Immigrants* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995). 399 pages.

The Center for Immigration Studies, a non-partisan research center dedicated to examining immigration issues and informing the public, is available to classroom teachers as an educational resource. For more information, contact: Center for Immigration Studies, 1815 H Street, NW, suite 1010, Washington, DC 20006; tel: (202) 466-8185.

Part I: The Role of Immigration in the American Experience

...Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free.
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, the tempest-tost to me.
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!

When these words were inscribed in 1886 on the Statue of Liberty that overlooks New York Harbor, the United States was a country of fewer than 60 million people. Vast tracts of land in the West and the Great Plains were still largely unsettled, and the nation's growing cities were in the middle of the Industrial Revolution. Even though many Americans viewed the immigrants streaming into the country with apprehension, few could deny the need for more farmers and factory workers.

To say that we are a nation of immigrants is more than an acknowledgment of history. It also reflects how Americans perceive our country's role in the world. Since records were first kept in 1820, more than 60 million immigrants have entered the United States. Nearly 40 percent of that total were admitted between 1881 and 1920. In 1886, 334,000 immigrants entered the United States. At the time, the country was in the early stages of a forty-year upsurge in immigration that was to transform American society and spark debate about U.S. immigration policy.

After a lull of nearly half a century, immigration is again on the rise. The 9.5 million newcomers who came in the 1980s surpassed the previous peak decade of U.S. immigration, from 1901 to 1910. In 1996, more than 1.2 million immigrants (legal and illegal) came to the United States. As in 1886, these latest newcomers are arriving at a time when U.S. immigration policy is again the subject of growing controversy. With the U.S. population exceeding 265 million, many Americans contend that the United States does not have the room to accommodate more immigrants, while others argue that we cannot afford to close our door to the skills and energy brought by newcomers. Despite the economic uncertainty of recent years, the United States continues to accept more immigrants than the rest of the world's countries combined.

Immigration Fuels a Growing Nation

The generation that authored the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution traced its roots primarily to the British Isles and other areas of northwest Europe. They welcomed the prospect of continued immigration, but also sought to protect the democratic institutions of the young republic from outside influences.

George Washington expressed in 1783 both the hopes and concerns of the nation's early leaders: "The bosom of America is open to receive not only the opulent and respectable stranger but the oppressed and persecuted of all nations and religions; whom we shall welcome to a participation of all our rights and privileges, if by decency and propriety of conduct they appear to merit the enjoyment."

The Constitution said little about immigration and citizenship other than to make these issues the responsibility of Congress. Before 1820, the United States did not even bother to count how many newcomers reached its shores by ship. Not until the ratification of the 14th amendment in 1868 was citizenship clearly granted to anyone born in the United States, including African-Americans. (Native Americans, however, were not admitted to full citizenship until 1924.)

Even without an official policy, the United States proved to be a magnet for immigrants in the 1800s. For most of the century, a nearly ideal balance existed between the problems of Europe and the needs of the United States. In much of Europe, the forces of the Industrial Revolution, shifts in agriculture, and a soaring population left millions of people unable to make a living. In addition, a blight wiped out the potato crop in much of northwestern Europe in the late 1840s. Ireland was hit particularly hard by the blight, losing half a million people to disease and starvation.

Meanwhile, the United States expanded in both size and wealth throughout the 1800s. By 1848, the country stretched across the continent. Booming factories and abundant farmland seemed capable of absorbing an endless stream of immigrants. American

railroad companies actively recruited workers in Europe, while steamship lines depicted a country of boundless opportunity to spur ticket sales for the voyage across the Atlantic.

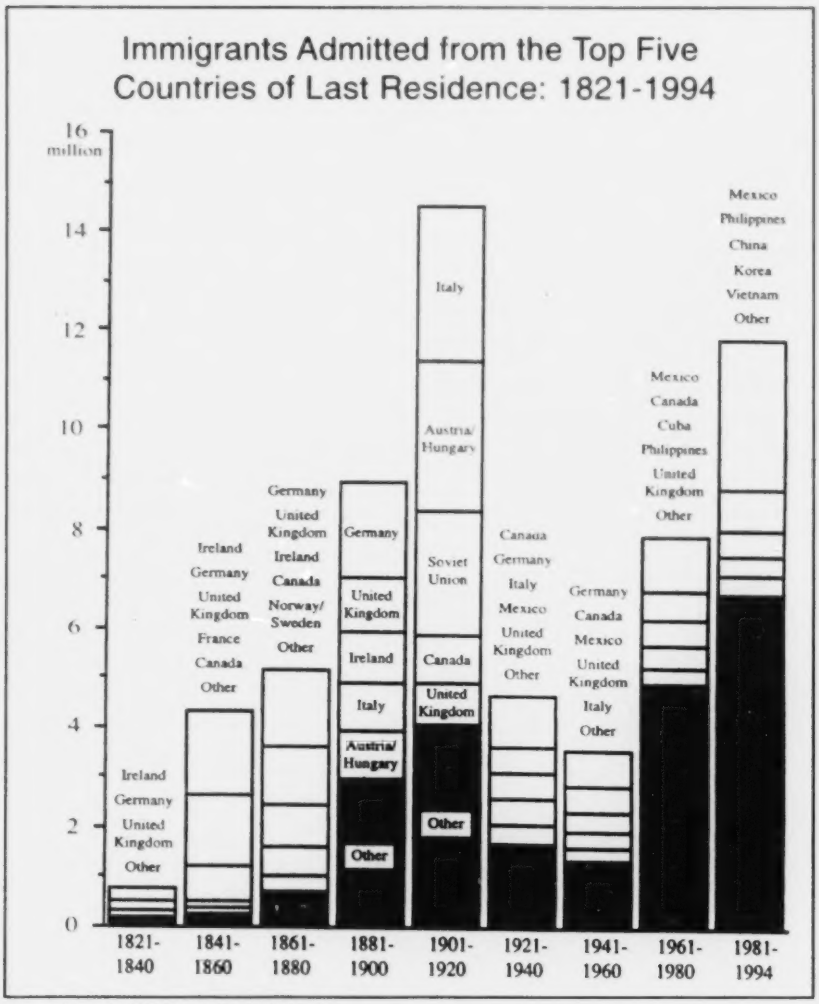
Between 1820 and 1880, 70 percent of immigrants to the United States came from Germany, Ireland, and Great Britain. During the period from 1881 to 1920, however, the majority of newcomers came from southern and eastern Europe, especially from Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. The turn of the century also marked a major change in how immigrants fitted into their adopted country. The 1890 census revealed that the unbroken frontier of the American West had been filled in. The most fertile land of the Great Plains and western valleys had been claimed. At the same time, though, the industrial cities of the Northeast and the Great Lakes region still needed cheap, unskilled labor.

The new wave of immigrants formed close-knit communities in major cities. Distinct enclaves of Italians, Poles, Jews, Greeks, and other ethnic groups peppered America's urban centers. By 1900, four out of five New Yorkers either were born abroad or were the children of immigrants.

Restrictions on Immigration

While immigrants poured into the United States, many Americans remained ambivalent about the Statue of Liberty's inscription. From the earliest days of the republic, there was anxiety about the social and political implications of immigration. Thomas Jefferson argued against welcoming the "servile masses of Europe," fearing that they would transform the American people into a "heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass." The mayor of New York in the 1820s looked upon the Irish and the Germans as "filthy, intemperate, unused to the comforts of life and regardless of its proprieties." Half a century later, the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* feared that a new generation of immigrants brought with them "unknown gods and rites....Accents of menace alien to our air."

The first organized opposition to open immigration emerged in the 1840s with the creation of the American Party, better known as the Know-Nothing Party for the secretiveness of its members. The Know-Nothings claimed that Irish and German immigrants, most of whom were Roman Catholic, threatened to



Reprinted from the 1996 *Statistical Yearbook of the INS*

corrupt the country's heritage. They were also behind violence designed to terrorize the newcomers. Although the Know-Nothings faded from the political arena before the Civil War, anti-immigrant feelings remained strong.

Chinese immigrants were subject to especially cruel persecution. Between 1861 and 1880, almost 200,000 Chinese came to the United States. While best known for their work in the railroad construction crews and mines of the West, the Chinese entered almost every area of the economy. By the 1870s, Chinese workers comprised 20 to 30 percent of the labor force in California. State law, however, barred them from marrying whites or testifying in court against whites. Riots in a number of Western towns resulted in the deaths of dozens of Chinese newcomers.

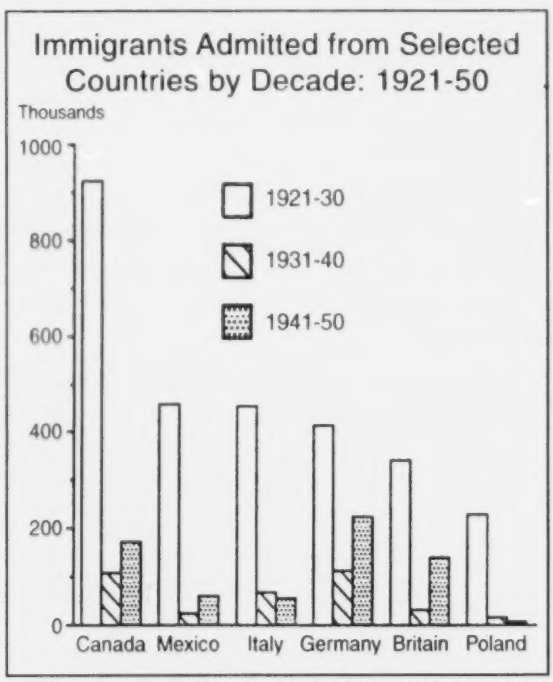
Prejudice against the Chinese also prompted the first significant legislation to restrict immigration. Before the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, immigration was largely unregulated. Congress' only earlier attempt to control immigration had been in 1875, when a law barring the entry of criminals and prostitutes was enacted. The Chinese Exclusion Act set the stage for later efforts to establish immigration restrictions on the basis of national origin.

Anti-immigration forces in Congress sought to make literacy a requirement for entry to the United States. Since mass education was slow to advance in much of southern and eastern Europe, opponents of immigration expected that a literacy test would stem the flow of newcomers from those regions.

The anti-immigration movement that emerged around the turn of the century based its appeal on the ideas advocated by the Know-Nothings half a century earlier, and drew support from other groups as well. Labor union organizers, for example, feared that their struggle to raise wages and improve working conditions was being undercut by the availability of cheap immigrant labor. At the same time, political reformers believed that immigrant voters could be easily manipulated to support corrupt big-city politicians.

The campaign to restrict immigration, however, faced opposition from business leaders. Congressional legislation to require a literary test for immigrants was repeatedly vetoed by presidents from Grover Cleveland in 1895 to Woodrow Wilson in 1915. Not until 1917, with Americans caught up in the nationalistic spirit of World War I, did Congress override President Wilson's veto, and make literacy an entrance requirement. In 1921, another restrictive law was passed, creating immigration quotas on the basis of national origin. That concept served as the foundation of the Immigration Act of 1924, more commonly known as the National Origins Act.

The 1924 act grew out of recommendations presented to Congress in 1911 by the Dillingham Commission. Reflecting the mood of Congress, the commission called for new regulations to reduce immigration. More important, it proposed limiting the number of immigrants to be accepted from each country. Many of the Dillingham Commission's suggestions found their way into the legislation that followed. The 1924 act limited the annual immigration quota of each European nationality to 2 percent of its proportion in the U.S. population in 1890. For Italians, Hungarians, Poles, and other groups that had begun immigrating to the United States in large numbers only after 1890, the quotas were relatively small. Moreover, the 1924 act affirmed earlier laws that closed the door to immigration from Asia.



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The Cold War Guides Policy

The 1924 act governed U.S. immigration policy until 1952. During this period, immigration fell to its lowest level since the mid-1800s. The effects of the quota system, the Depression of the 1930s, and World War II combined to greatly reduce immigration from southern and eastern Europe. In the 1930s, the number of people emigrating out of the United States actually exceeded the number of immigrants coming into the country.

During this lull in immigration, the United States underwent a dramatic transformation. World War II not only lifted the U.S. economy out of the Depression, but also sparked a new era of technological innovation. The United States emerged from the war as the most powerful nation on earth. By the late 1940s, U.S. leaders had taken on a new range of international commitments to thwart the growing threat of the Soviet Union. The deepening Cold War redefined the U.S. role in the world and touched almost every aspect of government policy, including regulations on immigration.

The new international position of the United States was made evident in the Displaced Persons Act of 1948. The act allowed for the admission of more than 400,000 refugees left homeless by World War II and the imposition of Soviet communism in Eastern Europe. The Displaced Persons Act was followed in the 1950s and 1960s by a number of special bills designed to accommodate "escapees" from communist domination. The biggest wave of refugees — approximately 700,000 — came from Cuba after a revolution brought Fidel Castro to power in 1959.

1965 Opens a New Era

While refugees formed a large proportion of newcomers after World War II, the basic features of immigration policy remained unchanged until 1965. Like many other important issues, immigration policy was reshaped by the political ferment of the 1960s.

Although restrictions against immigration from Asia were slightly relaxed by the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act, the system created in 1924 was maintained until the civil rights movement forced lawmakers to re-examine the national origins quotas. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, enacted during a period of robust economic growth, replaced the old quotas with a set of seven preference categories. Under the new system, priority was placed on reuniting families and attracting highly skilled professionals.

The immediate effect of the 1965 act was to boost immigration by nationalities most severely restricted by the quota system. As late as the 1950s, 68 percent of the immigrants entering the United States came from Europe and Canada. The new law cleared the way for greater immigration from Asia. The emphasis on admitting professionals triggered an unprecedented wave of immigration by Asian doctors, nurses, engineers, scientists, and other university-trained specialists. The 1965 act also set in motion a chain reaction that would leave an impact on future immigration patterns. Under the preference system, newcomers with citizenship status were able to sponsor the immigration of their spouses, children, and siblings. These new arrivals, in turn, could arrange for other family members to join them.

By the 1970s, immigrants were entering the United States in the largest numbers in half a century. Officially, immigration was subjected to much tighter legal controls than in the early 1900s. No more than 20,000 immigrants from any single country could enter the United States annually. At the same time, the total number of immigrants to be admitted annually was limited to 290,000. (The immediate relatives of U.S. citizens — spouses, children under age 18, and parents — were exempt from the ceiling of 290,000.) Immigration law in the 1970s, however, was facing new challenges.

Despite the strict regulations, more immigrants were entering the country outside of normal routes, either as refugees or illegal aliens. Meanwhile, the conventional channels of the immigration system were clogged by hundreds of thousands of backlogged applicants. Mexicans, for example, faced a wait of more than six years to have their applications processed. As the 1980s approached, pressure for immigration reform was gathering momentum.

Part II: A New Generation of Newcomers

Daniel Alvarez and Vuong Khoa (not their real names) typify the new generation of immigrants to come to the United States.

Daniel Alvarez first entered the United States illegally as a teenager in the early 1980s, crossing the U.S.-Mexican border to join his older brother. Alvarez settled in a small farming town outside of Fresno, California. Despite his illegal status, he graduated from high school and obtained a driver's license. Alvarez worked with his brother for one of the area's largest grape growers. He soon proved himself a quick learner, rising in a few years from farm hand to trusted foreman. At the same time, Alvarez returned frequently to his native village in Mexico to attend weddings, funerals, and other family functions. On one such trip, Alvarez married a woman from his village and returned with her to the United States to set down roots. Alvarez rented a two-bedroom house from his employer. He and his wife had four children, three of whom were born at a local public hospital that did not charge the Alvarezes for their medical expenses. In 1990, Alvarez and his family were granted U.S. citizenship under a special law passed in 1986.

Vuong Khoa was a surgeon in South Vietnam during the Vietnam War. He left his homeland in 1975, just before the country fell to the communists. Like thousands of other Vietnamese who worked with Americans during the war, Khoa came to the United States seeking political asylum. During their first few months in the United States, Khoa and his family lived with relatives in Oklahoma. Despite his many years of medical experience in South Vietnam, Khoa was required to undergo two years of training before he was allowed to practice in the United States. Eventually, however, Khoa succeeded in re-establishing his reputation as a skilled surgeon in his new home. At the same time, his colleagues in Oklahoma benefited from Khoa's knowledge of traditional Vietnamese medicine.

Although their stories are in many ways unique, Alvarez and Khoa share much in common with many of their fellow newcomers. Alvarez, as an illegal alien, and Khoa, as a refugee, both entered the United States outside the channels of the 1965 immigration act. In the last two decades, the ranks of immigrants have been swelled by refugees who are granted special status within the law and by illegal aliens who slip undetected across U.S. borders. Of the more than 1.2 million immigrants who settled in the United States in 1996, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) estimates that roughly 300,000 were illegal aliens. Moreover, 129,000 people were admitted as refugees or asylum seekers.

Khoa's level of education fits the profile of many new immigrants. The new arrivals of recent decades are the most highly educated group of immigrants in U.S. history. In the 1980s alone, 1.5 million college-educated immigrants joined the work force. As the case of Alvarez points out, though, society spends more than ever on new immigrants for schooling, health care, and other social services. Finally, the countries of origin of Khoa and Alvarez place them in step with recent immigration trends. Between 1971 and 1991, more than 35 percent of legal immigrants came from Asia, while almost half arrived from Latin

Top Ten States of Intended Residence for Immigrants in 1996

State	Number of immigrants	Percentage of total	State	Number of immigrants	Percentage of total
California	201,529	22.0%	***Illinois***	42,517	4.6%
New York	154,095	16.8%	***Massachusetts***	23,085	2.5%
Texas	83,385	9.1%	***Virginia***	21,375	2.3%
Florida	79,461	8.7%	***Maryland***	20,732	2.3%
New Jersey	63,303	6.9%	***Washington***	18,833	2.1%

America, including 24 percent from Mexico. Fewer than 14 percent emigrated from Europe.

The arrival of Daniel Alvarez, Vuong Khoa, and thousands like them occurred at a time when U.S. immigration law was undergoing another period of revision. From 1980 to 1990, concern over lax border control, demands for changes in admission standards, and an upswing in refugee applications prodded Congress to approve three major pieces of immigration legislation.

Changes in Immigration Law

The Refugee Act of 1980 was prompted in large part by the arrival of more than 400,000 refugees from Southeast Asia between 1975 and 1980. The legislation sought to give refugee policy greater consistency by allowing for both a regular flow of refugees and emergency admissions. In 1986, the Immigration Reform and Control Act tackled the growing issue of illegal immigration. In hopes of stemming the entry of illegal aliens, the 1986 act imposed penalties on employers who knowingly hired undocumented workers. It also allowed illegal aliens who had lived in the United States since 1981, as well as undocumented agricultural workers, to become citizens. Under this amnesty program, about 3.2 million illegal aliens (or undocumented immigrants) gained legal status.

In 1990, Congress once again addressed the general question of immigration laws. The Immigration Act of 1990 raised the limit on annual admissions to 675,000 immigrants. (The 1965 act had set the ceiling at 290,000.) The 1990 law also nearly tripled the number of immigration slots reserved for newcomers with prized job skills and their families.

Based on the Immigration Act of 1990, over 71 percent of immigration visas go to family members of U.S. citizens and permanent legal residents; about 21 percent are set aside for well-trained workers and their families; and about 8 percent are available for immigrants from countries that have received relatively few visas in previous years. Meanwhile, the number of visa applications in line for processing from family members of U.S. citizens and legal residents totals about 3.6 million.

In the 1990s, political tension surrounding the immigration debate has escalated in Washington. Among the most significant measures to become law has been the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act. In its original form, the legislation would have reduced overall annual immigration to 535,000 (including refugees and asylum seekers) and strengthened border control efforts. By the time the bill was signed by President Bill Clinton in 1996, however, its focus had been narrowed to curbing illegal immigration.

Under the act, procedures for deporting illegal aliens and rejecting asylum claims have been streamlined. Critics warn that the law places too much power in the hands of the INS and denies legitimate refugees a fair hearing.

The next round of immigration legislation may be influenced by the recommendations of the Commission on Immigration Reform. The commission, which was created under the 1990 Immigration Act to conduct a wide-ranging review of U.S. immigration policy, is due to issue its final report in the fall of 1997.

Spotlight on Illegal Immigration

Like no other issue, the flow of illegal aliens into the United States has captured center stage in the immigration debate. Although illegal immigration was the subject of the Immigration Reform and

Immigration to the U.S. in 1996

Relatives of U.S. citizens and permanent residents	596,000
Skilled workers and their families	117,000
Refugees	119,000
Asylees	10,000
Miscellaneous	74,000
Illegal aliens (estimate)	300,000
Total	1,216,000

Control Act, the concerns that were addressed by the 1986 act remain as pressing as ever.

According to INS estimates, about 300,000 illegal aliens settle permanently in the United States each year. The INS calculates that 41 percent of them arrive as tourists, students, or businessmen, and then stay beyond the limitations of their visas. Thousands use false documents to slip past immigration officials at our country's airports. The public spotlight, however, has zeroed in mainly on those who enter the country by crossing the U.S.-Mexican border.

Borders and barriers

Illegal aliens and border control are relatively new concepts in the history of U.S. immigration. Until 1968, there were no official limits on immigration from countries in the Western Hemisphere. There was not even an attempt to monitor the borders until 1924. Mexican workers, in particular, were a critical part of the labor force in the Southwest. They generally worked in agriculture during the growing season and then returned to their homes in Mexico. From 1942 to 1964, the *bracero* program gave this arrangement official status, permitting the entry of 4 million to 5 million temporary agricultural workers.

The end of the *bracero* program did not halt the movement of workers across the borders. Large farms and, increasingly, low-wage industries continued to rely on Mexican workers. Meanwhile, Mexico's high rate of unemployment and wage levels that were one-tenth of American standards pushed more laborers across the border in search of employment.

Since the 1960s, both the forces pushing illegal aliens northward and those attracting them to the United States have grown stronger. In 1972, the INS caught about 500,000 illegal aliens crossing the border. In 1986, the year that the Immigration Reform and Control Act was enacted, that figure had increased to nearly 1.8 million.

The composition of the illegal alien population has changed in the last two decades. Although the typical illegal alien is still a single young man, more women and children are entering the country illegally as well. Fewer than one-quarter of today's illegal aliens work in agriculture. The majority live and work in large cities. In addition, Mexicans make up a smaller proportion of illegal aliens than in the past. Increasingly, illegal aliens are arriving from Central America, the Caribbean, and Asia. International smuggling rings, for example, funnel an estimated 100,000 illegal immigrants from South Asia and China across the U.S.-Mexican border annually.

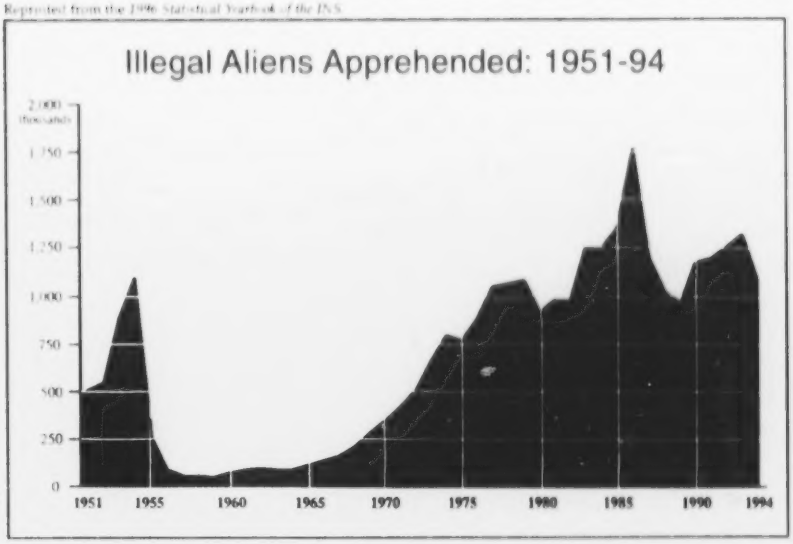
The 1986 act was intended to cut off the flow of illegal aliens by penalizing employers who hired them. Enforcement of the restrictions, however, proved difficult. Illegal aliens in many areas had little problem obtaining false documents to qualify for jobs. In response, the 1996 law added new measures to block undocumented workers from gaining employment.

The increase in illegal immigration has prompted new approaches to border control. Under the 1996 law, the size of the INS's Border Patrol will be doubled by 2001, raising the total force to above 10,000. Border Patrol officials have also experimented with new strategies, such as concentrating their agents at the main crossing points.

Nonetheless, the task of the Border Patrol remains daunting. For more than half its nearly 2,000 miles, the U.S.-Mexican border is marked by the shallow Rio Grande. In the empty deserts to the west, it consists of three strands of barbed wire. Only near a few cities, such as the area south of San Diego, is there a steel fence dividing the two countries. Border Patrol officials concede that recent programs to tighten border enforcement around San Diego and El Paso, Texas, have added to pressure elsewhere. Arizona, for example, experienced a doubling of illegal crossings in early 1995.

Advocates of stricter border control argue that the ineffectiveness of the Border Patrol is a threat to national security. They point to studies showing that the U.S.-Mexican border is increasingly becoming a transit point for drug smuggling, and they fear that international terrorists may use the same route. Immigration controls at U.S. airports have also drawn fire from critics. They note that only a handful of foreign visitors to the United States who overstay their visas are ever deported. In most cases, the INS makes no effort to track them down.

Reprinted from the 1996 Statistical Yearbook of the INS



illegal immigrants most heavily. In addition, Mexican-American leaders complained that the proposition would heighten discrimination toward members of their ethnic group. Legal challenges have blocked implementation of Proposition 187 and are likely to keep the measure tied up in the courts for several years.

The same states that are burdened by the social service needs of illegal aliens are also home to businesses that employ them. Some employers contend that Americans are unwilling to work hard for low wages. Whether stitching pants in a clothing factory, washing dishes in a restaurant, or harvesting fruits and vegetables, illegal aliens have become a crucial element of the work force in many areas. Los Angeles has emerged as the center of America's garment industry in large part due to the labor of undocumented workers.

Burdens and benefits

The cost of providing social services to the roughly 4 million illegal aliens in the United States is also part of the immigration debate. Like immigrants in general, the illegal aliens are concentrated in a few states, primarily California (which is home to about half of all undocumented immigrants), Texas, New York, Florida, and Illinois. In 1982, the Supreme Court ruled that states must provide illegal aliens with schooling. That decision, along with the growing proportion of women and children among the illegal alien population, has added to the education and health care budgets of several states. California, for instance, spends $1.8 billion annually on educating illegal immigrant children.

Faced with mounting financial pressure, state officials have demanded that the federal government either tighten border control or pay for social services offered to illegal aliens. In 1994, concern over illegal immigration accounted for the passage of Proposition 187 by California voters. The ballot initiative was intended to deny illegal aliens in California schooling, welfare, non-emergency health care, and other social services, and would require administrators of government programs to report suspected illegal aliens to the INS.

Opponents of Proposition 187, including President Clinton, argued that the initiative is unconstitutional and would penalize the children of

Critics of the practice maintain that some employers prefer hiring undocumented workers because they are unlikely to complain about low pay and poor working conditions. In fact, law enforcement officials report that sweatshops operating outside the law have made a comeback in Los Angeles and New York thanks to the availability of illegal alien labor.

The passage of Proposition 187 and the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act have also complicated U.S.-Mexican relations. Mexican leaders remain sensitive to U.S. attitudes toward Mexican workers. They remember how the Border Patrol was used to deport hundreds of thousands of Mexicans in 1929 and again in 1954. Sealing off the border, they warn, would rekindle anti-American feelings in Mexico.

Mexico is already the United States' third leading trading partner. Its economic importance to Americans has grown as a result of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The agreement sets up a trading bloc of nearly 400 million people by lowering trade barriers among the United States, Mexico,

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and Canada. Mexican officials and free trade advocates in the United States contend that by creating better-paying jobs in Mexico, NAFTA will reduce the flow of undocumented immigrants. Some experts on illegal immigration go further. They argue that by increasing foreign aid and trade benefits to Mexico and other Latin American countries and by encouraging low-wage American industries to invest in the region the United States can help generate new local jobs that will keep potential illegal aliens at home. Indeed, the turbulence of Mexico's economy has demonstrated the strong link between economic factors and illegal immigration. After the crash of the Mexican peso in late 1994, the Border Patrol recorded an upsurge in illegal crossings from Mexico.

Refugees in the Foreign Policy Arena

In addition to illegal immigration, the issue of refugee policy has acquired greater prominence in recent years. The 1980 Refugee Act opened the United States to more refugees and changed the definition of refugee to conform with United Nations (UN) standards. According to the 1980 act, a refugee is a person "unable or unwilling to return to [his or her home country]...because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion."

Cold War standards

U.S. refugee laws during the Cold War were primarily an instrument of foreign policy. Preference was given to refugees escaping from communist countries. In the past two decades, however, a worldwide refugee crisis has challenged old assumptions. The internationally recognized refugee population has grown twelve times to 26 million, largely due to war and famine in poor, developing countries. Refugee applications to the United States have shot up more than twenty times.

U.S. policy, however, has been slow to change. Of the more than 1.9 million refugees admitted from 1980 to 1996, 85 percent have come from communist or former communist nations. Even with the end of the Cold War, old foreign policy priorities have continued to define refugee admissions. Of the 128,600 refugees and asylees accepted in 1996, 29,700 traced their origins to Vietnam, 22,500 to Cuba, and 26,400 to either Ukraine or Russia.

Critics of U.S. refugee policy are sharply divided among themselves. Some charge that the United States has lost sight of humanitarian considerations in awarding immigration visas. They want refugee and asylum applicants to be evaluated in strict accordance with UN standards, regardless of the political significance of their countries of origin. Others assert that many of the people admitted as refugees and asylum seekers are not fleeing persecution but simply looking for a better life. They favor lowering the overall ceiling for refugees.

Although the 1980 Refugee Act called for the admission of roughly 50,000 refugees and asylum seekers a year, the annual total has averaged over 110,000 since the law was enacted. In recent years, the United States has reduced the maximum number of refugees and asylum seekers to be admitted for permanent residence. In 1997, for example, the ceiling was set at 78,000.

Caribbean "boat people"

Dual refugee crises in the Caribbean in 1994 highlighted the clash of values and interests surrounding U.S. policy. Refugees from Haiti were the first to grab America's attention. Beginning in 1992, thousands of Haitians set sail for American shores after the Haitian army overthrew the Caribbean island nation's newly elected president. An economic embargo — imposed on Haiti at the urging of the United States to force the military from power — worsened the refugee crisis.

President George Bush and President Clinton both tried to discourage the outpouring of Haitian "boat people." Although a few were granted refugee status, the majority were turned back by the U.S. Coast Guard. By the summer of 1994, U.S. authorities were holding 14,000 Haitians at the U.S. naval base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. The refugee crisis was a key factor in Clinton's decision to send 20,000 American troops to Haiti in September 1994 to spearhead an international mission to restore democratic government on the island.

Even as the events in Haiti unfolded, the United States was grappling with an influx of thousands of Cuban boat people. The backdrop of the Cuban crisis was very different from developments in Haiti. Since Fidel Castro's first steps toward establishing a communist dictatorship in Cuba in 1959, the United States had readily accepted Cubans seeking refuge. In 1980, the United States took in 125,000 Cuban refugees, including hundreds of criminals released by Castro from Cuban prisons.

When Cuban authorities suddenly lifted restrictions on emigration in the summer of 1994, U.S. officials feared a repeat of the 1980 exodus. Tens of thousands of Cubans headed out to sea on flimsy vessels or even inner tubes. Unlike 1980, however, the United States denied the boat people automatic entry. Instead, the United States negotiated with Cuban officials — something U.S. leaders had long avoided — and worked out an agreement to normalize Cuban immigration to the United States. Under the accord, the United States pledged to accept 20,000 Cuban immigrants annually in exchange for Cuba's commitment to block illegal immigration.

The shift in policy toward Cuba removed a double standard in America's position on refugees. Critics had long charged that Cuban refugees received preferential treatment because they were fleeing a communist country. America's policy toward Haitians also prompted Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to claim in 1994 that the United States was discriminating against his countrymen because they were black. Although U.S. officials strongly rejected charges of racism, they have voiced concerns about attracting a flood of would-be immigrants from throughout the Caribbean Basin.

Doors closing abroad

The United States is not alone among wealthy, developed countries in wrestling with refugee problems. In the former Soviet bloc, the economic and political turmoil that accompanied the collapse of communism triggered a flow of refugees westward. Germany has been on the front line of the crisis. From 1989 to 1992, Germany took in nearly 900,000 asylum seekers. In 1993, however, Germany narrowed its definition of political asylum and began deporting foreigners who did not meet the new standards.

Other European countries quickly followed Germany's lead. France's interior minister went so far as to declare that France should move "toward zero immigration." Member states of the fifteen-nation European Union are considering the adoption of a single immigration policy for the entire trade bloc.

In Canada too, recent adjustments in immigration standards reflect a change in priorities. In 1996, Canada admitted 220,000 immigrants — a much higher percentage of its population than immigrant admissions to the United States. Unlike America's immigration laws, however, Canadian standards are geared toward admitting young, college-educated newcomers who speak fluent English or French. Emphasis on reunifying families has been downgraded.

Part III: Assessing the Impact of Immigration

As the level of immigration has increased, so has the scope of the immigration debate. Immigration policy in the 1990s has collided with health care, welfare reform, crime, and other controversial domestic issues. In the foreign policy arena, immigration has left a mark on U.S. relations with Latin America, human rights, international trade, and the worldwide refugee crisis. Even more importantly, the immigration debate has entered into the discussion about standards for U.S. citizenship and the evolution of our national identity.

Before you consider the future of U.S. immigration law, you too should explore the chief issues that frame the current policy debate.

Economic Factors

Economic concerns typically dominate the immigration debate. For most of this century, business leaders and big farmers have tended to favor open immigration to ensure an adequate supply of workers. In the early 1900s, the boom in manufacturing was fueled in good part by the steady flow of unskilled immigrants. Although opportunities for unskilled factory workers have declined since World War II, other businesses, such as hotels and restaurants, continue to depend on low-wage labor to hold down costs.

Supporters of open immigration policies note that many high-tech industries have come to rely on newcomers. One in four people living in America with a university degree in the sciences was born abroad. About one-quarter of immigrant workers are university graduates, many specializing in engineering, computer science, chemistry, and other fields that are in high demand. Moreover, immigrants often leave behind family, friends, and other connections to potential export markets. Immigrants from East Asia, for example, have contributed substantially to U.S. trade with the vibrant economies of their home region.

In many of the biggest U.S. cities, immigrants have helped revive downtown business districts in the past two decades. Without the influx of immigrants, the nation's ten largest cities would have experienced a drop in population during the 1980s. Instead, many immigrants have opened up small businesses, created new jobs, and strengthened the local tax base.

Historically, opposition to open immigration laws has come from labor union leaders. They claim that high levels of immigration have taken away jobs from native-born Americans. They also maintain that the flow of unskilled workers into the economy holds down wages at the bottom of the employment ladder.

Other critics argue that U.S. immigration policy drains poor countries of their most highly educated professionals. Experts estimate that about half of the foreign studentswho study in American universities do not return to their home countries after graduation. Officials in some poor countries have even made the case that they should be compensated by the United States for highly skilled emigrants who leave their nations.

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Social Services

Measuring the cost of newcomers in terms of education, health care, welfare, and other social services has also become part of the immigration debate. For immigrants coming to the United States at the turn of the century, the government offered little help, other than providing free education for their children. Since the 1960s, however, the United States has initiated a wide range of programs to assist the poor.

Although the vast majority of immigrants come to the United States eager to work, studies indicate that they are about one-third more likely to receive public assistance than native-born citizens. Many of them, especially the growing number of elderly immigrants, often need special help during the first few years after their arrival. This has placed a substantial burden on a few areas. In 1996, for example, six states — California, New York, Texas, Florida, New Jersey, and Illinois — received 68 percent of all immigrants.

California alone was the destination of 35 percent of immigrants during the 1980s. According to California Governor Pete Wilson, the latest wave of immigrants is taking more resources out of the state than it is putting in. Immigrants there make up 21 percent of all households and receive 40 percent of the public assistance spent on California residents. Wilson attributes California's budget deficit in part to the jump in education, health care, law enforcement, and welfare costs for immigrants.

Similar expenses have strained other areas of heavy immigration. In New York, 120,000 immigrant students from 167 countries entered the city's school system in the early 1990s. Among the newcomers, 22 percent spoke little English and often required special bilingual classes. In the state of Washington, for example, 9 percent of students come from homes in which English is not the family's native language.

When Congress passed a major welfare reform bill in 1996, special attention was paid to benefits for immigrants. Under the new law, most legal immigrants are barred from taking advantage of the most common welfare programs until they gain citizenship. Even immigrants granted citizenship must live in the United States for five years before they become eligible for most benefits.

The welfare reform law has largely shifted the burden of supporting poor immigrants from Washington to state and local governments. California officials, for example, estimate that the state will have to provide roughly $500 million annually to make up for cuts in federal funding.

As governments at all levels spend more on social services for immigrants, the constitutional principles determining citizenship have come up for re-examination. Several bills recently introduced in Congress would modify the 14th amendment by denying automatic citizenship to the U.S.-born children of illegal aliens.

Population Trends

The concentration of immigrants in a handful of states has also raised questions about the relationship between immigration policy and population trends. In California, for example, the state's population grew 20 percent during the 1980s. Immigrants accounted for over one-quarter of the increase. With the number of Californians now topping 32 million, the state's pollution problems have put new strains on the environment. Population pressures have also intensified competition between farmers and city dwellers for scarce water. Population growth threatens to aggravate environmental problems in other parts of the country as well.

Like other developed nations, the United States has experienced a drop in birth rates for most of this century. If immigration were closed off entirely, the U.S. population would actually begin falling around the year 2020. At current levels of immigration, however, the population is expected to reach 335 million by the year 2025 — an increase of 60 million people. Although U.S. population growth rates are far below those of Mexico and other developing countries, they remain among the highest in the developed world.

Toward the Future

Almost everyone familiar with immigration issues agrees that history is not the best guide in

considering the future of U.S. immigration policy. The United States was a vastly different country during the period of 1880-1920 — the previous major wave of immigration. Americans of a century ago had few foreign policy issues to take into account. Foreign trade at the time was important, but the United States was not nearly as dependent on the global market. Furthermore, overpopulation and environmental problems were unheard of.

Americans today are charting a new role for the United States in the world. The Cold War assumptions that guided both foreign policy and immigration policy for four decades after World War II are no longer valid, and yet a new consensus has not emerged. As Americans sort out the priorities that will set the tone of U.S. immigration laws, they will have to clarify their vision for America in the 21st century.

In many respects, the transformation of the city of Miami brings home the debate over the impact of immigration on the United States. Before 1959, Miami was a quiet town best known for its nearby beaches and popularity among retirees. Then, a communist revolution in Cuba brought in an influx of Cubans. In the 1970s, the Cubans were joined by newcomers from Haiti. The 1980s witnessed a surge of Nicaraguans, Peruvians, and other immigrants from Central and South America. By 1992, 60 percent of Miami residents had been born outside the United States and nearly three-quarters spoke a language other than English at home.

In Miami's *Calle Ocho* district, fruit and vegetable stalls sell black beans, guayabas, plantains, and papayas. Sidewalk vendors serve up *empanadas* and *quesadillas* with a Caribbean flavor. Dominoes is the game of choice at the city park. Signs in Spanish advertise legal services, eye care, hair styling, and political candidates.

As a result of immigration, Miami has emerged as an important crossroads in trade between the United States and Latin America. It has also become a hotbed of ethnic tension. Riots have erupted in Miami three times since 1980. The American-born population of the city actually fell by 90,000 in the 1980s.

What Miami represents to Americans is crucial to the future of U.S. immigration policy. For some, the city embodies what is best in America. In a few short decades, newcomers have made it an international financial center — a gateway to the world poised to compete in the global economy of the 21st century. For others, Miami is a symbol of unbridled change, where differences in language and culture point to a future of economic conflict and social division.

Conclusion

In the coming days, you will have an opportunity to consider a range of alternatives for U.S. immigration policy. Each of the four viewpoints, or options, that you will explore is based on a distinct set of values and beliefs. Each takes a different perspective on our country's role in the world and our prospects for the future. You should think of the options as a tool designed to help you better understand the contrasting strategies from which Americans must craft future policy. At the end of this unit, you will be asked to make your own choices about where U.S. immigration policy should be heading.

Options in Brief

Option 1 — Opening Ourselves to the World

The last few years have brought an end to the atmosphere of fear and mistrust that gripped the world for much of this century. The Cold War is over, barriers to international understanding have fallen, and a new era of global interaction is dawning. In the world that is emerging, borders will have less significance. Americans can take pride in a heritage that promotes openness, tolerance, and diversity. Immigration puts our country in touch with the tastes and preferences of consumers worldwide, and gives U.S. companies an edge in opening export markets. Keeping our doors open lets the world know that the United States remains a country that looks forward to tomorrow.

Option 2 — Balancing Our Responsibilities

The United States and the world are facing both serious problems and unprecedented opportunities. In this challenging atmosphere, the United States continues to be an international leader. To remain responsible citizens of the world, however, we must restore the health of our own society. Only then will we be able to effectively combat the ills afflicting much of the poor, developing world, such as environmental pollution, overpopulation, and the spread of AIDS. Opening our doors to massive immigration resolves no one's problems. The money we spend on settling immigrants should be directed inward toward our own disadvantaged citizens and outward in the form of foreign aid programs that promote responsible, long-term development in Mexico, the Caribbean, and other poor areas.

Option 3 — Competing in a Competitive World

Economic competition among nations in the 21st century is set to reach new levels of intensity. In today's world, the United States must be prepared to compete in an increasingly demanding global marketplace. Immigration policy should be designed first to serve our country's economic needs, not to solve the world's problems. To spur American high-tech industries forward, our doors should be open to scientists and engineers from abroad. To help American factories, farms, and service industries hold down costs, we should allow a limited number of foreigners to work temporarily in low-wage jobs.

Option 4 — Recognizing Our Limits

The world is changing at a breakneck pace. The population explosion in poor countries, the spread of war and chaos, and the age-old curses of hunger and disease plague an ever-growing portion of humanity. We must recognize that Americans can do little to end the misery that haunts much of the world. Simply maintaining our way of life amounts to a major challenge. Although the United States is a nation of immigrants, the arguments supporting massive immigration have long since passed into history. Now it is time to say enough. We should drastically reduce the number of immigrants we accept and commit the resources necessary to take control of our borders.

Option 1

Opening Ourselves to the World

The last few years have brought an end to the atmosphere of fear and mistrust that gripped the world for much of this century. The Cold War is over, barriers to international understanding have fallen, and a new era of global interaction is dawning. The explosive growth in international trade has opened the U.S. economy to the forces of irreversible change. In the world that is emerging, borders will have less significance. Rather, the movement of people, ideas, and goods will inevitably flow with fewer obstacles in an increasingly global community. In the world of the future, the United States will stand out as a shining example. At a time when rigid nationalism has sparked conflict in many countries, Americans can take pride in a heritage that promotes openness, tolerance, and diversity. Compared to our chief economic rivals in Japan and Western Europe, the United States is poised to compete in the international marketplace. American movies, music, fashion, and brand names are attractive to people throughout the world because they symbolize a culture that embraces and celebrates many cultures. Immigration puts our country in touch with the tastes and preferences of consumers worldwide, and gives U.S. companies an edge in opening export markets.

From its earliest days, the United States has been a land of opportunity for people outside our borders. Each wave of immigrants has contributed to the United States' greatness and enriched our society. Today, immigrants are still coming. This latest generation of immigrants contains the best and brightest from a rich variety of cultures and regions. Even those lacking a formal education are driven by a strong sense of initiative and an unshakable work ethic. They have come because they believe the United States is the land of opportunity. They recognize that the United States rewards hard work and ability like no other country in the world. In the end, the talents, ambitions, and dreams they bring will benefit all Americans. Keeping our doors open lets the world know that the United States remains a country that looks forward to tomorrow.

What policies should we pursue?

- Remove bureaucratic obstacles in the immigration process that keep family members apart.
- Allow people worldwide with a legitimate fear of persecution the full protection of U.S. refugee laws.
- Adjust immigration laws to permit greater immigration from countries, such as China and Mexico, that have been the victims of unfair restrictions in the past.
- Provide immigrants with more opportunities, job training, and English-language instruction to speed their adjustment to American life.
- Ensure that everyone in the United States, including illegal immigrants, has access to education, basic health care, and other essential services.

Lessons from history

The United States has succeeded in integrating wave after wave of immigrants into American society. Fear-mongers in the mid-1800s warned that Irish and German immigrants would bring down the United States. In the early 1900s, similar attacks were directed against newcomers from southern and eastern Europe. In fact, each group of immigrants has made a vital contribution to the overall strength of the United States. Tomorrow's immigrants will do the same.

Option 1 is based on the following beliefs

- America is still a young, vigorous country with room to grow.
- America's strength lies in its diversity, particularly in the fresh ideas and cultures provided by new immigrants.
- Immigrant families, like the families of all Americans, should not be kept apart by our country's immigration laws.

PROS

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Welcoming new immigrants into our country will inject valuable skills into the U.S. economy and enable American culture to maintain the rich diversity that appeals to consumers the world over.
2. Renewing the United States' long tradition of offering opportunity and refuge for immigrants will earn the United States respect and admiration from people throughout the world.

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3. Immigrants will take advantage of their ties to their native countries to open up new export markets for American products.

CONS

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. If immigration continues at its current pace, more than 50 million newcomers will flood into the United States in the next half century, overloading our schools, hospitals, and other social services.
2. High levels of immigration will deprive American workers of jobs while forcing government to spend more on the needs of immigrants.
3. Encouraging highly skilled workers to immigrate to the United States robs poor countries of their most valuable human resources.
4. Opening our doors to unskilled immigrants at a time when the U.S. economy offers them few opportunities will only add to our society's problems.
5. High levels of immigration will push our country's population past tolerable limits and inflict still more harm on our country's environment.
6. The continual arrival of large numbers of immigrants, both legal and illegal, will eventually overwhelm American culture and contribute to the fragmentation of our society.

Option 2

Balancing Our Responsibilities

The United States and the world are facing both serious problems and unprecedented opportunities. The growing populations and struggling economies of poor countries are giving rise to economic and environmental crises that touch all of us. At the same time, the end of the Cold War has advanced the cause of democracy worldwide and led nations throughout the globe to recognize the value of working together. In this challenging atmosphere, the United States continues to be an international leader. To remain responsible citizens of the world, however, we must restore the health of our own society. The United States needs to catch its breath after nearly two decades of record immigration. Only then will we be able to effectively combat the ills afflicting much of the poor, developing world, such as environmental pollution, overpopulation, and the spread of AIDS.

As Americans, we have the ability to help both ourselves and others. Opening our doors to massive immigration, however, resolves no one's problems. Admitting huge numbers of newcomers into the United States every year not only overburdens our schools and health care system, it also drains poor countries of many of their most educated, highly skilled workers. Instead, U.S. immigration policy should strike a balance between meeting our needs here at home and addressing the problems of our neighbors. The money we spend on settling immigrants should be directed inward toward our own disadvantaged citizens and outward in the form of foreign aid programs that promote responsible, long-term development in Mexico, the Caribbean, and other poor areas that have traditionally looked to the United States for help. By improving life among our neighbors, we can get a grip on the forces that drive desperate immigrants toward our country's shores. Ultimately, we are all better off if people are not forced out of their homelands by poverty and suffering.

What policies should we pursue?

- Expand foreign aid and trade benefits for Mexico, the Caribbean, and other struggling areas of the Western Hemisphere to help governments strengthen their economies and reduce the flow of immigration to the United States.
- Apply consistent, humane standards in granting political asylum to refugees, rather than mold refugee policy to suit political purposes.
- Join other developed countries to coordinate the resettlement of existing refugees and prevent future refugee crises.
- Reduce the number of immigration visas awarded annually to 600,000, including refugees.
- Ensure that efforts to reduce illegal immigration do not penalize the children of illegal aliens.

Lessons from history

The extraordinary changes of the 20th century do not allow us to consider America's problems in isolation from the rest of the world. Since 1900, world population has more than tripled. Technological revolutions in transportation and communications have brought nations into contact like never before. A new category of global problems — environmental pollution, overpopulation, international drug trafficking, AIDS — now affects people throughout the planet. The fast-moving pace of history forces us to address immigration as an issue that involves both the United States and the world as a whole.

Option 2 is based on the following beliefs

- We must accept that the problems affecting other countries are America's problems as well.
- By developing well-crafted programs of foreign aid and trade benefits, the United States can help people in poor countries improve their lives.
- While we have an obligation to reduce suffering wherever possible, addressing the needs of the disadvantaged in the United States must be our first responsibility.

PROS

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Reducing the level of immigration to the United States will allow us to address poverty, crime, drug abuse, and other problems here at home.
2. Awarding fewer immigration visas and expanding foreign aid programs and trade benefits for the developing world will reduce the emigration of highly skilled workers from poor countries, thereby improving their prospects for economic development.

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3. Developing refugee policies that are consistent and humane will bolster the U.S. image throughout the world.

CONS

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. In the face of government spending cuts and budget pressures, the United States has no money for new foreign aid programs.
2. Closing our doors to immigrants will increase international tension, not improve global harmony.
3. Awarding immigration visas on the basis of humanitarian concerns, rather than economic priorities, will not significantly lower U.S. spending on social services for newcomers.
4. As past failures show, U.S. assistance is no match for overcoming the crippling poverty and social chaos plaguing much of Latin America and the Caribbean.
5. Without high levels of immigration, the United States will lack the talent and energy to strengthen our country and address future problems.
6. Establishing a more open policy toward refugees will encourage millions of desperate people to try to enter the United States.

Option 3

Competing in a Competitive World

Economic competition among nations in the 21st century is set to reach new levels of intensity. Economic systems that lag behind, such as that of the Soviet Union, are destined for the dustbin of history. In today's world, the United States must be prepared to compete in an increasingly demanding global marketplace. In the 1990s, our country's economy has undergone a wrenching readjustment. Businesses have cut jobs. Government programs have been trimmed. Workers have learned to do more with less. The economy that has emerged from the recent period of downsizing is leaner and stronger. Now we must make sure that our country's immigration policy is in line with our economic priorities. After calling on working Americans to tighten their belts, we owe them nothing less.

Every country has the right to promote its national interests. The United States should be no different. We cannot afford to admit into our country every year hundreds of thousands of newcomers who will be a burden on our society. Immigration policy should be designed first to serve our country's economic needs, not to solve the world's problems. A two-pronged approach makes the most sense. To spur American high-tech industries forward, our doors should be open to scientists and engineers from abroad. To help American factories, farms, and service industries hold down costs, we should allow a limited number of foreigners to work temporarily in low-wage jobs. By forging ahead with a realistic, far-sighted strategy, we can make immigration policy work for the United States.

What policies should we pursue?

- Award 200,000 immigration visas annually for skilled workers and their families, making the advancement of science and technology the top priority in guiding immigration policy.

- Reduce total annual immigration to 400,000, including refugees, making adjustments to reflect economic conditions. (During an economic downturn, the number of immigration visas should be decreased, while during an economic expansion the number should be increased.)

- Allow a limited number of foreigners to work temporarily in the United States in agriculture and other industries facing labor shortages.

- Offer scholarships to foreign graduate students in science, engineering, and other high-tech fields, provided they will work in the United States for at least five years.

- Deny education, health care, and other social services to illegal aliens, except in cases of emergency.

Lessons from history

Open immigration policies made sense for the United States as long as there was an abundance of jobs for unskilled workers. The American economy, however, has experienced tremendous change since World War II. New technologies and the movement of low-wage industries outside of the United States have left fewer opportunities for unskilled workers. At the same time, the growth of new high-tech industries in recent decades has left many American companies struggling to find scientists, engineers, and other skilled workers in these emerging fields.

Option 3 is based on the following beliefs

- Maintaining our economy's competitive edge is essential to the well-being of Americans.
- Promoting America's economic strength should be the guiding principle underlying our country's immigration policy.
- Skilled, well-educated immigrants are most capable of contributing to the betterment of the United States.

PROS SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Admitting highly skilled immigrants who are well-suited to the demands of the U.S. economy will help hold down government costs for welfare, health care, and other social services.

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2. Tailoring U.S. immigration policy to the needs of our economy will attract immigrants who have the most to offer to American industry, especially in high-tech fields.
3. Permitting the entry of temporary foreign workers into the labor force will help low-wage industries remain in the United States while competing in the global market.

CONS OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. Limiting immigration to the well-educated discriminates against worthy applicants who have been deprived of an opportunity to educate themselves.
2. Pursuing an immigration policy that overlooks the concerns of other countries will damage U.S. foreign relations, especially with our neighbors to the south.
3. Drawing the best and brightest skilled workers from poor countries will undercut economic development in much of the world and harm international stability.
4. Admitting foreigners as temporary workers and denying social services to illegal aliens will create a group of second-class citizens with few rights and little stake in American society.
5. Reducing the number of immigration visas available for family reunification will leave many close relatives apart.
6. Assisting foreign graduate students in science and engineering will deprive Americans of jobs and educational opportunities, and leave many of our most important high-tech industries dominated by foreign-born workers.

Option 4

Recognizing Our Limits

The world is changing at a breakneck pace. The population explosion in poor countries, the spread of war and chaos, and the age-old curses of hunger and disease plague an ever-growing portion of humanity. The United States is a strong country, but it cannot solve the world's problems. As the planet's population soars from 5.8 billion today to an estimated 10 billion by the year 2050, we must recognize that Americans can do little to end the misery that haunts much of the world. On the contrary, our uncertain economy has left millions of Americans struggling to keep up. Across the country, government spending has been slashed. Schools are overcrowded and underfunded, while health care costs have skyrocketed. Simply maintaining our way of life amounts to a major challenge.

Although the United States is a nation of immigrants, the arguments supporting massive immigration have long since passed into history. At a time when our country cannot bear the burden of maintaining social services for our own citizens, we can hardly afford to keep the door open every year to roughly 1 million newcomers from poor nations. The world's disadvantaged people cannot be blamed for wanting to enter the United States. Many of them lead lives of desperation and hopelessness. But the United States has already given enough. For decades, we have accepted more immigrants than all the other countries of the world combined. Now it is time to say enough. We have the right to preserve the uniquely American culture that has been created over the past two centuries. We should drastically reduce the number of immigrants we accept and commit the resources necessary to take control of our borders. The threat of runaway change must be brought under control.

What policies should we pursue?

•Reduce the number of immigration visas awarded annually to the level set in 1965 — 290,000 — including refugees.

•Strengthen border control by tripling the number of Border Patrol agents, constructing impassable barriers at major crossing points along the U.S.-Mexican border, and swiftly deporting foreigners who overstay their tourist visas.

•Introduce a national identity card that all workers would be required to present when applying for employment and social services.

•Pressure the governments of the Caribbean to take steps to prevent mass movements of refugees to the United States.

•End the policy of granting automatic citizenship to the children of foreigners born in the United States.

•Insist that those seeking political asylum apply at U.S. embassies in foreign countries.

Lessons from history

The surge in immigration around the turn of the century created dangerous social divisions in the United States, especially during tough economic times. During the depression of the 1890s and the economic downturn following World War I, American-born and foreign-born workers often found themselves competing for scarce jobs. Employers frequently hired foreign-born workers to undercut the efforts of labor unions to gain fair wages and better working conditions.

Option 4 is based on the following beliefs

- The United States is one of the few islands of stability and prosperity in a world marked largely by poverty and desperation.
- Continued high levels of immigration would overwhelm America's unique culture.
- On balance, immigrants today are more of a drain than a benefit for the United States.

PROS SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Reducing immigration will allow the United States to hold down spending for education, health care, and other social services.
2. Restoring firm control over our borders will help us reduce the flow of drugs into the United States and strengthen our defenses against international terrorism.

&

3. Lowering the number of newcomers entering the U.S. labor market will make more jobs available for American workers.

CONS OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. Fencing off our neighbors to the south will spark anti-American feelings in Latin America and the Caribbean, and harm relations with many of our leading trading partners.
2. Closing the door on new immigrants will deprive the American work force of skills, talent, and ambition.
3. Introducing a national identity card will make foreign-born Americans a target for suspicion and discrimination.
4. Drastically reducing immigration will create a society that lacks a solid understanding of the world beyond our borders.
5. Without young immigrants entering the country, American workers will face a heavy burden in supporting the steadily increasing elderly population.
6. Severely cutting back immigration will leave many recently arrived Americans separated from close family members in their native lands.

Focusing Your Thoughts

Instructions: You have had an opportunity to consider four options on U.S. immigration policy. Now it is your turn to look at each of the options from your own perspective. Try each one on for size. Think about how the options address your concerns and hopes. You will find that each has its own risks and trade-offs, advantages and disadvantages. After you complete this worksheet, you will be asked to develop your own option on this issue.

Ranking the Options

Which of the options below do you prefer? Rank the options, with "1" being the best option for the United States to follow.

___**Option 1: Opening Ourselves to the World**

___**Option 2: Balancing Our Responsibilities**

___**Option 3: Competing in a Competitive World**

___**Option 4: Recognizing Our Limits**

Beliefs

Rate each of the statements below according to your personal beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support
2 = Support
3 = Oppose
4 = Strongly Oppose
5 = Undecided

___ U.S. foreign policy should be based on a realistic assessment of our national interests, not on idealistic plans for saving the world.

___ As the most powerful nation in the world, the United States is capable of addressing suffering abroad while helping the disadvantaged here at home.

___ The problems affecting most poor countries are only going to get worse, regardless of U.S. assistance programs overseas.

___ The United States must remain a symbol of hope and opportunity for the people of the world.

___ Americans will face a struggle in the coming decades just to maintain their present lifestyle.

___ The greatness of the United States is based on its diversity and openness to fresh ideas.

___ The United States cannot isolate itself from problems beyond our borders.

___ Our country's ability to compete in the global economy will determine the fate of the United States in the coming century.

Creating Your Own Option

Your next assignment is to create an option that reflects your own beliefs and opinions. You may borrow heavily from one option, or you may combine ideas from two or three options. Or you may take a new approach altogether. There are, of course, no perfect solutions. And there is no right or wrong answer. Rather, you should strive to craft an option that is logical and persuasive. Be careful of contradictions. For example, you should not sharply reduce immigration if you believe that cultural diversity and fresh ideas are essential to our country's strength.

Supplementary Documents

Excerpts from the Brief Statement of the Investigations of the Immigration Commission, with Conclusions and Recommendations and Views of the Minority, chaired by Sen. William P. Dillingham of Vermont, 1911

Conclusions

While it has been no part of the work of the Commission to enforce the provisions of the immigration laws, it has been thought best to furnish from time to time to the proper authorities such information acquired in the course of the investigation as could further good administration and the enforcement of the law. City, state, and federal officials have officially recognized such assistance in their attempts to control the so-called "white slave trade," in the proper regulation of the immigrant societies and homes, in securing evidence and penal certificates to accomplish the deportation of criminals, and in the administration of the Chinese-exclusion act. In some instances, such information has led to local reorganization of the immigrant service. While mention is made of this matter the real work of the Commission has consisted in the collection and preparation of new material, largely statistical in nature, which might form a basis on which to frame legislation. A very condensed summary of the results on some of the principal questions investigated follows.

Sources of Immigration and Character of Immigrants

From 1820 to June 30, 1910, 27,918,992 immigrants were admitted to the United States. Of this number 92.3 per cent came from European countries, which countries are the source of about 93.7 per cent of the present immigration movement. From 1820 to 1883 more than 95 per cent of the total immigration from Europe originated in the United Kingdom, Germany, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, and Switzerland. In what follows the movement from these countries will be referred to as the "old immigration." Following 1883 there was a rapid change in the ethnical character of European immigration, and in recent years more than 70 per cent of the movement has originated in southern and eastern Europe. The change geographically, however, has been somewhat greater than the change in the racial character of the immigration, this being due very largely to the number of Germans who have come from Austria-Hungary and Russia. The movement from southern and eastern Europe will be referred to as the "new immigration." In a single generation Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia have succeeded the United Kingdom and Germany as the chief sources of immigration. In fact, each of the three countries first named furnished more immigrants to the United States in 1907 than came in the same year from the United Kingdom, Germany, Scandinavia, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Switzerland combined.

The old immigration movement in recent years has rapidly declined, both numerically and relatively, and under present conditions there are no indications that it will materially increase. The new immigration movement is very large, and there are few, if any, indications of its natural abatement. The new immigration, coming in such large numbers, has provoked a widespread feeling of apprehension as to its effect on the economic and social welfare of the country. Because of this the Commission's investigations have been mainly directed toward a study of its general status as part of the population of the country.

The old immigration movement was essentially one of permanent settlers. The new immigration is very largely one of individuals a considerable proportion of whom apparently have no intention of permanently changing their residence, their only purpose in coming to America being to temporarily take advantage of the greater wages paid for industrial labor in this country. This, of course, is not true of all the new immigrants, but the practice is sufficiently common to warrant referring to it as a characteristic of them as a class. From all data that are available it appears that nearly 40 per cent of the new immigration movement returns to Europe and that about two-thirds of those who go remain there. This does not mean that all of these immigrants have acquired a competence and returned to live on it. Among the immigrants who return

permanently are those who have failed, as well as those who have succeeded. Thousands of those returning have, under unusual conditions of climate, work, and food, contracted tuberculosis and other diseases; others are injured in our industries; still others are the widows and children of aliens dying here. These, with the aged and the temperamentally unfit, make up a large part of the aliens who return to their former homes to remain.

The old immigration came to the United States during a period of general development and was an important factor in that development, while the new immigration has come during a period of great industrial expansion and has furnished a practically unlimited supply of labor to that expansion.

As a class the new immigrants are largely unskilled laborers coming from countries where their highest wage is small compared with the lowest wage in the United States. Nearly 75 per cent of them are males. About 83 per cent are between the ages of 14 and 45 years, and consequently are producers rather than dependents. They bring little money into the country and send or take a considerable part of their earnings out. More than 35 per cent are illiterate, as compared with less than 3 per cent of the old immigrant class. Immigration prior to 1882 was practically unregulated, and consequently many were not self-supporting, so that the care of alien paupers in several States was a serious problem. The new immigration has for the most part been carefully regulated so far as health and likelihood of pauperism are concerned, and, although drawn from classes low in the economic scale, the new immigrants as a rule are the strongest, the most enterprising, and the best of their class....

Immigration and Crime

It is impossible from existing data to determine whether the immigrant population in this country is relatively more or less criminal than the native-born population. Statistics show that the proportion of convictions for crimes according to the population is greater among the foreign-born than among the native-born. It must be remembered, however, that the proportion of persons of what may be termed the criminal age is greater among the foreign-born than among the natives, and when due allowance is made for this fact it appears that criminality, judged by convictions, is about equally prevalent in each class. It is obviously impossible to determine whether the proportion of unpunished criminals is relatively greater among the foreign or among the native born. It is sometimes stated that the detection and conviction of criminals, especially for higher crimes, is more difficult in the case of the foreign-born. Probably this is true of certain localities and perhaps generally true in the case of certain nationalities, but there is no proof that this condition applies to the foreign-born element as a whole in the country at large. It is possible that in some localities prejudice against or sympathy for foreigners influences convictions or acquittals. In large cities a part of the apparent criminality of the foreign-born consists merely of violations of ordinances, which are offenses only because the persons who commit them are not naturalized. Prominent in this class of offenses is street peddling without a license in cities where such licenses are granted only to citizens.

The proportion of the more serious crimes of homicide, blackmail, and robbery, as well as the least serious offenses, is greater among the foreign-born. The disproportion in this regard is due principally to the prevalence of homicides and other crimes of personal violence among Italians and to the violation of city ordinances previously mentioned.

The United States immigration law provides for the exclusion of persons who have been convicted of or who admit having committed a crime involving moral turpitude, but notwithstanding this a considerable number of aliens of the following classes succeed in entering the United States:

1. Those who have been convicted of crime abroad and have served out their sentence.

2. Those who have been convicted of crime by foreign courts during their absence from the place of trial, having escaped arrest and fled the country.

Besides these our law does not exclude those who are regarded at home as dangerous or suspicious persons or probable criminals.

There are two fundamental defects in the law relative to the immigration of criminal aliens. In the first place no adequate provision is made for securing a knowledge of the criminal record of aliens in other countries, and the inspection at United States ports that is largely depended upon for the detection of arriving aliens of the criminal class is in the nature of the case entirely inadequate to control the movement. As previously explained, in the case of Italy, advantage is not

taken of the only instance in which arriving immigrants bring with them any written evidence as to their moral character at home.

The other serious, and in the opinion of the Commission inexcusable, defect is the fact that aliens admitted to this country, unless it appears that such admission was in violation of law, may pursue a criminal career without danger of deportation. To deport an alien of any class is entirely within the rights of any Government, and provision should be made for ridding the United States of aliens who, within a relatively short time after arrival, become criminals. It seems entirely reasonable and just that this country should not harbor dangerous criminals of another country, especially when their residence in the United States has been so brief that their tendency to crime can not be attributed to conditions arising subsequent to their entry into this country. Under the Canadian immigration law aliens who become a charge upon the public, by reason of crime or any other cause, within three years after their arrival may be, and in considerable numbers are, deported to the countries whence they came. Under the British aliens act the right to deport criminals is exercised, and the Commission emphatically believes that the same principle should be applied in the United States. It is not believed that the practice of deportation should be sufficiently extended to include minor offenses, nor that the period of time within which deportation could be made should be longer than the period required for naturalization.

Immigration and the Public Health

The effective administration of the present immigration law insures the admission to the United States of physically healthy immigrants, so that there is no adequate cause for concern in this regard. While it is true that a large part of the present-day immigration is drawn from countries where certain dangerous and loathsome contagious diseases are prevalent among the immigration classes, the medical inspection conducted by the steamship companies at foreign ports of embarkation and elsewhere in Europe prevents the coming to this country of great numbers of diseased aliens, and the inspection here by officers of the United States Public Health and Marine-Hospital Service effectively supplements the examination abroad.

It is doubtless true that some cases of contagious or infectious disease are introduced, and to a limited extent spread, in this country because of immigration, but there is no cause for serious alarm in this regard. From investigations of the Commission in industrial localities and from other investigations that have been made it seems probable that a considerable number of persons afflicted with venereal diseases are admitted to this country and that such diseases have been spread in many communities as a result of immigration. It is difficult always to detect the existence of such diseases by means of a medical inspection as it is now conducted at United States ports, and it would seem impracticable to make the medical examination more thorough in this regard than it is at the present time.

The Commission included within the scope of the investigation the study of cases admitted to Bellevue and Allied Hospitals in New York City. These hospitals are public charitable institutions, and a sufficient number of persons are treated there to warrant some conclusions relative to the existence of disease among the poorer classes of the foreign-born. While it appears that a considerable number of immigrants are treated at these hospitals for various causes within a comparatively short time after their admission to the United States, it does not appear that the number is sufficiently serious to warrant the conclusion that diseased persons are being admitted in any considerable numbers. A study of these cases, however, permits an interesting and significant comparison between immigrants of the old and the new class with regard to alcoholism. Of the 23,758 cases treated at Bellevue and Allied Hospitals during the period covered by the Commission's inquiry, 25.5 per cent of the native-born and 18.2 per cent of the foreign-born persons involved were treated for alcoholism. Among the foreign-born this treatment was confined almost entirely to the races of the old immigration, such as the Irish, Scotch, English, and Germans, while relatively very few southern and eastern Europeans were treated for that cause. A striking difference between the old and new immigration in this regard was also apparent to a greater or less degree in many industrial communities included in the Commission's general investigation. Some complaint was made that drunkenness interfered with the industrial efficiency of some southern and eastern Europeans, but these cases were comparatively rare....

Immigrants in Manufacturing and Mining

A large proportion of the southern and eastern European immigrants of the past twenty-five years have entered the manufacturing and mining industries of the eastern and middle western States, mostly in the capacity of unskilled laborers. There is no basic industry in which they are not largely represented and in many cases they compose more than 50 per cent of the total number of persons employed in such industries. Coincident with the advent of these millions of unskilled laborers there has been an unprecedented expansion of the industries in which they have been employed. Whether this great immigration movement was caused by the industrial development or whether the fact that a practically unlimited and available supply of cheap labor existed in Europe was taken advantage of for the purpose of expanding the industries, can not well be demonstrated. Whatever may be the truth in this regard it is certain that southern and eastern European immigrants have almost completely monopolized unskilled labor activities in many of the more important industries. This phase of the industrial situation was made the most important and exhaustive feature of the Commission's investigation, and the results show that while the competition of these immigrants has had little, if any, effect on the highly skilled trades, nevertheless, through lack of industrial progress and by reason of large and constant reinforcement from abroad, it has kept conditions in the semiskilled and unskilled occupations from advancing.

Several elements peculiar to the new immigrants contributed to this result. The aliens came from countries where low economic conditions prevailed and where conditions of labor were bad. They were content to accept wages and conditions which the native American and immigrants of the older class had come to regard as unsatisfactory. They were not, as a rule, engaged at lower wages than had been paid to older workmen for the same class of labor, but their presence in constantly increasing numbers prevented progress among the older wage-earning class, and as a result that class of employees was gradually displaced. An instance of this displacement is shown in the experience of the bituminous coal mines of western Pennsylvania. This section of the bituminous field was the one first entered by the new immigrants, and the displacement of the old workers was soon under way. Some of them entered other occupations and many of them migrated to the coal fields of the Middle West. Later these fields also were invaded by the new immigrants, and large numbers of the old workers again migrated to the mines of the Southwest, where they still predominate. The effect of the new immigration is clearly shown in the western Pennsylvania fields, where the average wage of the bituminous coal worker is 42 cents a day below the average wage in the Middle West and Southwest. Incidentally, hours of labor are longer and general working conditions poorer in the Pennsylvania mines than elsewhere. Another characteristic of the new immigrants contributed to the situation in Pennsylvania. This was the impossibility of successfully organizing them into labor unions. Several attempts at organization were made, but the constant influx of immigrants to whom prevailing conditions seemed unusually favorable contributed to the failure to organize. A similar situation has prevailed in other great industries.

Like most of the immigration from southern and eastern Europe, those who entered the leading industries were largely single men or married men unaccompanied by their families. There is, of course, in practically all industrial communities a large number of families of the various races, but the majority of the employees are men without families here and whose standard of living is so far below that of the native American or older immigrant workman that it is impossible for the latter to successfully compete with them. They usually live in cooperative groups and crowd together. Consequently, they are able to save a great part of their earnings, much of which is sent or carried abroad. Moreover, there is a strong tendency on the part of these unaccompanied men to return to their native countries after a few years of labor here. These groups have little contact with American life, learn little of American institutions, and aside from the wages earned profit little by their stay in this country. During their early years in the United States they usually rely for assistance and advice on some member of their race, frequently a saloon keeper or grocer, and almost always a steamship ticket agent and "immigrant banker," who, because of superior intelligence and better knowledge of American ways, commands their confidence. Usually after a longer residence they become more self-reliant, but their progress toward assimilation is generally slow. Immigrant families in the industrial centers are more permanent and usually

exhibit a stronger tendency toward advancement, although, in most cases, it is a long time before they even approach the ordinary standard of the American or the older immigrant families in the same grade of occupation. This description, of course, is not universally true, but it represents a great part of the recent immigrant population in the United States. Their numbers are so great and the influx is so continuous that even with the remarkable expansion of industry during the past few years there has been created an over supply of unskilled labor, and in some of the industries this is reflected in a curtailed number of working days and a consequent yearly income among the unskilled workers which is very much less than is indicated by the daily wage rates paid; and while it may not have lowered in a marked degree the American standard of living, it has introduced a lower standard which has become prevalent in the unskilled industry at large....

Recommendations

The Commission agrees that:

1. To protect the United States more effectively against the immigration of criminal and certain other debarred classes—

(a) Aliens convicted of serious crimes within a period of five years after admission should be deported in accordance with the provisions of House bill 20980, Sixty-first Congress, second session.

(b) Under the provisions of section 39 of the immigration act of February 20, 1907, the President should appoint commissioners to make arrangements with such countries as have adequate police records to supply emigrants with copies of such records, and that thereafter immigrants from such countries should be admitted to the United States only upon the production of proper certificates showing an absence of convictions for excludable crimes.

(c) So far as practicable, the immigration laws should be so amended as to be made applicable to alien seamen.

(d) Any alien who becomes a public charge within three years after his arrival in this country should be subject to deportation in the discretion of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

2. Sufficient appropriation should be regularly made to enforce vigorously the provisions of the laws previously recommended by the Commission and enacted by Congress regarding the importation of women for immoral purposes.

3. As the new statute relative to steerage conditions took effect so recently as January 1, 1909, and as the most modern steerage fully complies with all that is demanded under law, the Commission's only recommendation in this connection is that a statute be immediately enacted providing for the placing of Government officials, both men and women, on vessels carrying third-class or steerage passengers for the enforcement of the law and the protection of the immigrant. The system inaugurated by the Commission of sending investigators in the steerage in the guise of immigrants should be continued at intervals by the Bureau of Immigration.

4. To strengthen the certainty of just and humane decisions of doubtful cases at ports of entry it is recommended—

That section 25 of the immigration act of 1907 be amended to provide that boards of special inquiry should be appointed by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and that they should be composed of men whose ability and training qualify them for the performance of judicial functions; that the provisions compelling their hearings to be separate and apart from the public should be repealed, and that the office of an additional Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Labor to assist in reviewing such appeals be created.

5. To protect the immigrant against exploitation; to discourage sending savings abroad; to encourage permanent residence and naturalization; and to secure better distribution of alien immigrants throughout the country—

(a) The States should enact laws strictly regulating immigrant banks.

(b) Proper State legislation should be enacted for the regulation of employment agencies.

(c) Since numerous aliens make it their business to keep immigrants from influences that may tend toward their assimilation and naturalization as American citizens with the purpose of using their funds, and of encouraging investment of their savings abroad and their return to their home land, aliens who attempt to persuade immigrants not to become American citizens should be made subject to deportation.

(d) Since the distribution of the thrifty immigrant to sections of the country where he may secure a

permanent residence to the best advantage, and especially where he may invest his savings in farms or engage in agricultural pursuits, is most desirable, the Division of Information, in the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, should be so conducted as to cooperate with States desiring immigrant settlers; and information concerning the opportunities for settlement should be brought to the attention of immigrants in industrial centers who have been here for some time and who might be thus induced to invest their savings in this country and become permanent agricultural settlers. The division might also secure and furnish to all laborers alike information showing opportunities for permanent employment in various sections of the country, together with the economic conditions in such places.

6. One of the provisions of section 2 of the act of 1907 reads as follows:

And provided further, That skilled labor may be imported if labor of like kind unemployed can not be found in this country.

Instances occasionally arise, especially in the establishment of new industries in the United States, where labor of the kind desired, unemployed, can not be found in this country and it becomes necessary to import such labor. Under the law the Secretary of Commerce and Labor has no authority to determine the question of the necessity for importing such labor in advance of the importation, and it is recommended that an amendment to the law be adopted by adding to the clause cited above a provision to the effect that the question of the necessity of importing such skilled labor in any particular instance may be determined by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor upon the application of any person interested prior to any action in that direction by such person; such determination by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor to be reached after a full hearing and an investigation into the facts of the case.

7. The general policy adopted by Congress in 1882 of excluding Chinese laborers should be continued.

The question of Japanese and Korean immigration should be permitted to stand without further legislation so long as the present method of restriction proves to be effective.

An understanding should be reached with the British Government whereby East Indian laborers would be effectively prevented from coming to the United States.

8. The investigations of the Commission show an oversupply of unskilled labor in basic industries to an extent which indicates an oversupply of unskilled labor in the industries of the country as a whole, a condition which demands legislation restricting the further admission of such unskilled labor.

It is desirable in making the restriction that—

(a) A sufficient number be debarred to produce a marked effect upon the present supply of unskilled labor.

(b) As far as possible, the aliens excluded should be those who come to this country with no intention to become American citizens or even to maintain a permanent residence here, but merely to save enough, by the adoption, if necessary, of low standards of living, to return permanently to their home country. Such persons are usually men unaccompanied by wives and children.

(c) As far as possible the aliens excluded should also be those who, by reason of their personal qualities or habits, would least readily be assimilated or would make the least desirable citizens.

The following methods of restricting immigration have been suggested:

(a) The exclusion of those unable to read or write in some language.

(b) The limitation of the number of each race arriving each year to a certain percentage of the average of that race arriving during a given period of years.

(c) The exclusion of unskilled laborers unaccompanied by wives or families.

(d) The limitation of the number of immigrants arriving annually at any port.

(e) The material increase in the amount of money required to be in the possession of the immigrant at the port of arrival.

(f) The material increase of the head tax.

(g) The levy of the head tax so as to make a marked discrimination in favor of men with families.

All these methods would be effective in one way or another in securing restrictions in a greater or less degree. A majority of the Commission favor the reading and writing test as the most feasible single method of restricting undesirable immigration.

The Commission as a whole recommends restriction as demanded by economic, moral, and social consideration, furnishes in its report reasons for such restriction, and points out methods by which Congress can attain the desired result if its judgment coincides with that of the Commission.

Official Summary of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1995

Title I: Improvements to Border Control, Facilitation of Legal Entry, and Interior Enforcement

Subtitle A: Improved Enforcement at the Border

Directs the Attorney General to increase the number of Border Patrol agents through 2001. Authorizes the increase of Border Patrol support personnel.

(Sec. 102) Provides for barrier and road improvements at U.S. border areas of high illegal entry, including San Diego, California. Authorizes appropriations for San Diego area improvements.

(Sec. 103) Provides for: (1) improved border equipment and technology; and (2) biometric identifiers to be included in border crossing identification cards.

(Sec. 105) Establishes civil penalties for illegal U.S. entry.

(Sec. 106) Provides for a review of Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) hiring and training standards.

(Sec. 107) Directs the Comptroller General to evaluate the Attorney General's border strategy.

(Sec. 108) Amends Federal criminal law to establish criminal penalties for high speed flights from immigration checkpoints.

(Sec. 109) Provides for: (1) a joint study of automated data collection at points of entry; and (2) development of an automated (alien) entry-exit control system.

(Sec. 111) Directs the Attorney General to submit a final plan for the realignment of interior Border Patrol positions to front-line border positions.

(Sec. 112) Authorizes additional appropriations for the INS IDENT program for fingerprinting of apprehended aliens.

Subtitle B: Facilitation of Legal Entry

Directs the Attorney General and the Secretary of the Treasury to increase the number of land border inspectors for 1997 and 1998.

(Sec. 122) Amends the Immigration and Nationality Act to: (1) extend (and enlarge) through 2000 land border inspection projects (including commuter lanes); and (2) authorize automated land border entry pilot projects.

(Sec. 123) Provides for: (1) pre-inspection at specified foreign airports serving as departure points for high numbers of inadmissible aliens; and (2) training of airline personnel in fraudulent documentation detection. Establishes a carrier consultant program.

(Sec. 125) Authorizes the Attorney General to permit foreign officers at U.S. pre-clearance facilities. Bases their authority and immunity upon reciprocity with U.S. immigration officers.

(Sec. 133) Amends the Act to authorize the Attorney General to accept State services to carry out immigration enforcement activities.

(Sec. 134) Requires at least ten full-time INS agents per State.

Title II: Enhanced Enforcement and Penalties Against Alien Smuggling; Document Fraud

Subtitle A: Enhanced Enforcement and Penalties Against Alien Smuggling

Amends Federal criminal law to: (1) authorize INS wiretaps for alien smuggling or document fraud investigations; (2) include alien document and smuggling offenses; and (3) include such offenses within the parameters of the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations statute (RICO) if done for financial gain.

(Sec. 203) Amends the Act to revise and increase criminal penalties for alien smuggling.

(Sec. 204) Increases the number of Assistant United States Attorneys by at least 25, and provides for their assignment to criminal matters involving illegal aliens.

(Sec. 205) Authorizes and provides for INS undercover operations.

Subtitle B: Deterrence of Document Fraud

Amends Federal criminal law and the Act to increase and establish criminal and civil penalties for specified immigration related document fraud offenses, including false citizenship claims and unlawful voting.

Title III: Inspection, Apprehension, Detention, Adjudication, and Removal of Inadmissible and Deportable Aliens

Subtitle A: Revision of Procedures for Removal of Aliens

Amends the Act to revise alien removal and penalty provisions, including: (1) inadmissibility of previously removed unlawful aliens; (2) inspection and expedited removal (including a required General Accounting Office study); (3) alien apprehension and detention; (4) removal procedures; (5) judicial review; and (6) penalties relating to removal.

Subtitle B: Criminal Alien Provisions

Amends the Act to revise the definition of "aggravated felony."

(Sec. 323) Authorizes special registration of aliens on criminal probation or parole.

(Sec. 324) Extends criminal liability for illegal reentry to an alien who has departed the United States while under an outstanding order of exclusion or deportation.

(Sec. 326) Amends the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 to: (1) direct INS to operate a criminal alien identification system, including fingerprint identification; and (2) increase and extend authorization of appropriations through 2001 for the criminal alien tracking center.

(Sec. 328) Amends the Act to permit the use of State criminal alien assistance program funds for State, local, and municipal alien incarceration costs. Expresses the sense of the Congress that such funds should be more expeditiously distributed.

(Sec. 329) Authorizes the Attorney General to conduct a six-month demonstration project for identification of illegal aliens in local prisons, including the detailing of an INS specialist to Anaheim, California, and Ventura County, California.

(Sec. 330) Provides for: (1) the President to negotiate or renegotiate bilateral (alien) prisoner transfer treaties, including provision of compensation; and (2) training of foreign law enforcement personnel. Authorizes appropriations.

(Sec. 331) Directs the Secretary of State and the Attorney General to conduct a prisoner transfer treaties study.

(Sec. 332) Directs the Attorney General to submit an annual report on criminal aliens.

(Sec. 333) Directs the United States Sentencing Commission to: (1) review and promulgate sentencing guidelines with respect to a person conspiring with or assisting an alien to commit an offense under the Controlled Substance Import and Export Act; and (2) promulgate sentencing guidelines for increased penalties for failure to depart, illegal reentry, and passport and visa fraud.

Subtitle C: Revision of Grounds for Exclusion and Deportation

Amends the Act to require (with exceptions) proof of specified health vaccinations for aliens seeking admission as immigrants or for adjustment of status.

(Sec. 342) Makes "incitement of terrorist activity" a basis for exclusion.

(Sec. 343) Establishes certification requirements for aliens seeking U.S. health care employment (other than physicians).

(Sec. 344) Provides for exclusion and deportation of aliens who have falsely claimed U.S. citizenship.

(Sec. 345) Authorizes a waiver of exclusion or deportation for civil document fraud under specified family-related circumstances.

(Sec. 346) Makes an alien inadmissible for five years for student visa violations.

(Sec. 347) Amends Federal criminal law to provide for exclusion and deportation of an alien who has illegally voted.

(Sec. 348) Amends the Act with respect to waivers of inadmissibility for: (1) immigrants convicted of crimes; and (2) family hardship.

(Sec. 350) Establishes grounds for exclusion and deportation for offenses of domestic violence, stalking, crimes against children, and violation of protection orders.

(Sec. 352) Provides for exclusion of former U.S. citizens who renounced citizenship in order to avoid U.S. taxation.

Subtitle D: Changes in Removal of Alien Terrorist Provisions

Amends the Act to revise alien terrorist special removal procedures, including establishment of a panel of special attorneys with access to classified information.

(Sec. 355) Revises terrorist related provisions regarding: (1) exclusion for membership; (2) judicial review of terrorist organization designation; and (3) voluntary departure.

Subtitle E: Transportation of Aliens

Amends the Act with regard to vessel, aircraft, and railway transportation of illegal aliens into the United States.

Subtitle F: Additional Provisions

Amends the Act to set forth immigration judge (special inquiry officer) compensation provisions.

(Sec. 372) Authorizes the Attorney General to delegate immigration enforcement to State and local officials during circumstances of mass alien arrivals.

(Sec. 373) Authorizes payments and cooperative agreements for services, facilities, and equipment with respect to aliens detained by INS in non-Federal institutions.

(Sec. 374) Extends the scope of judicial deportation.

(Sec. 376) Establishes in the Treasury an Immigration Detention Account.

(Sec. 377) Limits court jurisdiction on legalization litigation.

(Sec. 380) Establishes: (1) civil penalties for failure to depart; and (2) the Immigration Enforcement Account in the Treasury.

(Sec. 383) Amends the Immigration Act of 1990 to exclude aliens who have committed certain crimes from the family unity program.

(Sec. 384) Prohibits (with exceptions) an adverse determination of an alien's admissibility or deportability to be made based solely upon information furnished by a spouse or parent who has battered such alien or his or her child. Establishes penalties for use or disclosure of such information.

(Sec. 385) Authorizes additional appropriations to the Attorney General for removal of inadmissible or deportable aliens.

(Sec. 386) Provides for an increase in INS detention facilities. Requires the Attorney General to report on alien detention space, including an estimate of the number of released deportable or excludable aliens.

(Sec. 387) Directs the Attorney General and the Secretary of Defense to establish one or more pilot programs to use closed military bases as detention centers for excludable or deportable aliens.

(Sec. 388) Directs the Attorney General to report on the interior repatriation program.

Title IV: Enforcement of Restrictions Against Employment

Subtitle A: Pilot Programs for Employment Eligibility Confirmation

Directs the Attorney General to conduct: (1) three employment eligibility confirmation pilot programs and a pilot program confirmation system; and (2) a citizen attestation pilot program.

Subtitle B: Other Provisions Relating to Employer Sanctions

Reduces specified document requirements in the employer sanctions program.

(Sec. 413) Requires reports regarding: (1) additional authority or resources needed for employer sanction enforcement; and (2) earnings of aliens not authorized to work.

(Sec. 415) Authorizes the Attorney General to require aliens to provide their social security numbers.

(Sec. 416) Grants certain immigration officers witness and document subpoena authority.

Subtitle C: Unfair Immigration — Related Employment Practices

Amends the Act to provide that certain employee document requests by an employer shall only be considered as unfair immigration related employment practices if made for discriminatory purposes.

Title V: Restrictions on Benefits for Aliens

Sets forth statements of congressional policy regarding alien self-reliance and public benefits. Expresses the sense of the Congress that courts should apply the same standard of review to an applicable State law (regarding public benefits for aliens) as used in determining whether an Act of Congress regulating alien eligibility for public benefits meets constitutional scrutiny.

Subtitle A: Ineligibility of Excludable, Deportable, and Nonimmigrant Aliens from Public Assistance and Benefits

Prohibits means-tested public benefits, with specified exceptions, to an alien who is not a permanent resident, a refugee, a parolee, an asylee, an alien under withheld deportation, or a battered individual.

(Sec. 502) Prohibits, with specified exceptions, ineligible aliens from receiving any governmentally funded or provided grants, contracts, and licenses.

(Sec. 503) Amends the Internal Revenue Code to eliminate the crediting of employment for purposes of unemployment benefits to individuals based upon the

status of permanently residing in the United States under color of law.

(Sec. 504) Amends the Social Security Act to prohibit social security benefit payments to aliens not lawfully in the United States.

(Sec. 505) Requires proof of identity for certain public assistance (SAVE) benefits. Authorizes States to establish similar requirements.

(Sec. 507) Makes illegal aliens ineligible for in-state tuition rates at institutions of higher education.

(Sec. 508) Requires prior verification of student eligibility for post-secondary Federal student financial assistance.

(Sec. 509) Amends the Social Security Act and the Higher Education Act with respect to the transfer of information for INS verification.

(Sec. 510) Requires Federal or State verification of an applicant's eligibility for means-tested public benefits (other than hospital benefits) distributed by a nonprofit charitable organization.

(Sec. 511) Requires a report by the Comptroller General regarding the receipt of means-tested public benefits by ineligible aliens on behalf of eligible individuals.

Subtitle B: Expansion of Disqualification from Immigration Benefits on the Basis of Public Charge

Amends the Act to expand the public charge grounds for inadmissibility and deportation.

Subtitle C: Affidavits of Support and Attribution of Income

Amends the Act to set forth sponsor affidavit of support requirements.

(Sec. 552) Attributes a sponsor's income and resources to the sponsored alien (with exceptions for battered spouses and children and specified assistance) for purposes of Federal means-tested benefits eligibility. Permits similar State and local attribution.

Subtitle D: Miscellaneous Provisions

Amends Federal criminal law to increase penalties for forging or counterfeiting a Federal agency or department seal to facilitate alien benefit fraud.

(Sec. 563) Sets forth State and local emergency medical reimbursement provisions.

(Sec. 565) Directs the Attorney General to establish a three-year pilot program to permit aliens to post certain public charge bonds. Authorizes appropriations.

Subtitle E: Housing Assistance — Use of Assisted Housing by Aliens Act of 1996

Amends the Housing and Community Development Act of 1980 with respect to alien rental housing assistance to: (1) prorate public housing assistance based upon family member eligibility; (2) prohibit assistance prior to establishment and verification of eligibility; and (3) prohibit sanctions against entities that make erroneous eligibility determinations.

Subtitle F: General Provisions

States that this title and its amendments shall be effective upon enactment of this Act.

Title VI: Miscellaneous Provisions

Subtitle A: Refugees, Parole, and Asylum

Amends the Act to include in the definition of "refugee" a person who has been subject to a coercive population control program (including abortion or sterilization). Provides for a specified number of such entrants annually.

(Sec. 602) Makes parole authority usable on a case-by-case basis for humanitarian reasons or significant public benefit.

(Sec. 603) Includes long-term parolees in worldwide levels of family-sponsored immigrants.

(Sec. 604) Revises asylum provisions.

(Sec. 605) Directs the Attorney General, subject to appropriation availability, to increase the number of asylum officers.

(Sec. 606) Repeals the Cuban Adjustment Act, effective upon a presidential determination of a democratically elected government in Cuba.

Subtitle B: Miscellaneous Amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act

Amends the Act as amended by the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 to increase the number of "witness cooperation" visas.

(Sec. 622) Amends the Immigration and Technical Corrections Act of 1994 to extend through June 1, 2002, the foreign country residence waiver for international medical graduates. Sets forth restrictions for federally requested waivers.

(Sec. 623) Revises legalization and special agricultural worker confidentiality provisions to permit specified disclosures.

(Sec. 624) States that a labor certification and petition for certain professional athletes shall remain valid for same-sport team changes.

(Sec. 625) Prohibits foreign student status for an alien in a public elementary school or a publicly funded adult education program. Prohibits such status at a public secondary school unless the period in question does not exceed 12 months and the alien has reimbursed the appropriate school agency. Prohibits transfer from a private educational program to such public programs unless the required provisions are met.

(Sec. 626) Authorizes the Attorney General to use appropriated funds to transport for burial the remains of INS officers or Border Patrol agents killed in the line of duty.

Subtitle C: Provisions Relating to Visa Processing and Consular Efficiency

Amends the Act to: (1) extend immigrant visa validity to six months; and (2) authorize nonimmigrant visa reciprocity for refugees and permanent residents.

(Sec. 632) Eliminates "consular shopping" for visa overstayers.

(Sec. 635) Extends the visa waiver program through 1997. Sets forth duration and termination provisions based upon a participating country's (nationals) disqualification rate.

(Sec. 636) Authorizes a diversity immigrant lottery fee.

(Sec. 637) Grants 1997 priority eligibility to certain 1995 diversity program aliens.

Subtitle D: Other Provisions

Directs the Attorney General to collect specified foreign student information from certain institutions of higher education and visitor exchange programs. Expands the program to all countries' nationals after a specified time.

(Sec. 642) Prohibits restrictions on INS-governmental communications.

(Sec. 644) Directs INS to make information (including legal consequences) available to aliens regarding female genital mutilation. Amends Federal criminal law to establish criminal penalties for such acts performed on persons under 18 years old, with specified exceptions.

(Sec. 646) Provides for status adjustment to permanent resident of specified Polish and Hungarian parolees.

(Sec. 647) Makes specified funds available in 1997 through 2001 for naturalization demonstration projects.

(Sec. 649) Amends Federal law to provide for Federal vessel movement controls in instances of anticipated or actual mass migration of aliens to the United States.

(Sec. 650) Directs the Attorney General to report on the practices of entities that administer certain English and civics tests.

(Sec. 651) Designates a specified United States Customs Administrative Building in El Paso, Texas, as the Timothy C. McCaghren Customs Administrative Building.

(Sec. 652) Requires: (1) the Attorney General to report on the mail order bride business; and (2) such businesses to disseminate immigration-related information to recruits. Imposes civil penalties for noncompliance.

(Sec. 653) Directs the Comptroller General to report on the effectiveness of the H-2A nonimmigrant worker program.

(Sec. 654) Directs the Commissioner of the United States Customs Service to report on allegations of commercial harassment by Canadian customs agents along the United States — New Brunswick border. Expresses the sense of the Congress concerning the discriminatory application of the New Brunswick Provincial Sales Tax on goods purchased in the United States by New Brunswick residents.

(Sec. 656) States that Federal agencies shall only accept birth certificates and drivers licenses for identification purposes that meet specified standards (as of specified dates). Provides grants to assist States to: (1) meet such Federal standards; and (2) match birth and death records.

(Sec. 657) Directs the Commissioner of Social Security to develop a prototype of a counterfeit-proof social security card.

(Sec. 658) Authorizes the Attorney General to transfer equipment and memorabilia to the Border Patrol Museum and Memorial Library Foundation in Texas.

(Sec. 660) Amends Federal law to authorize INS to use National Guard personnel and equipment to transport certain criminal aliens.

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U.S. Immigration Policy in an Unsettled World calls on students to examine the historical and current dimensions of an issue that is fast becoming a key focus of U.S. foreign policy and has fueled the ongoing debate about our national identity.

U.S. Immigration Policy in an Unsettled World is part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues published by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Project at Brown University. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

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U.S. Immigration Policy in an Unsettled World

Teacher's Resource Book

PUBLIC POLICY DEBATE IN THE CLASSROOM

Choices for the 21st Century Education Project

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Thomas J. Biersteker
Director

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About the Choices Approach

Choices for the 21st Century curricula are designed to make complex international issues understandable and meaningful for students. Using an innovative approach to student-centered instruction, Choices units develop critical thinking and civic judgment — essential ingredients of responsible citizenship.

Understanding the Significance of History: Each Choices unit provides students with a thorough introduction to the topic under consideration. Students gain an understanding of the historical background and the status of current issues. In this way, they see how history has shaped our world. With this foundation, students are prepared to thoughtfully consider a variety of perspectives on public policy.

Exploring Policy Alternatives: Each Choices unit is built around a framework of alternative policy options that challenges students to consider multiple perspectives and to think critically about the issue at hand. Students are best able to understand and analyze the options through a cooperative learning/role-play activity. In groups, students explore their assigned options and plan short presentations. The setting of the role-play may be a Congressional hearing, meeting of the National Security Council, or an election campaign forum. Student groups defend their policy options and, in turn, are challenged with questions from their classmates. The ensuing debate demands analysis and evaluation of the many conflicting values, interests, and priorities reflected in the options.

Exercising Civic Judgment: Armed with fresh insights from the role-play and debate, students are challenged to articulate original, coherent policy options that reflect their own values, priorities, and goals as individuals and citizens. Students' views can be expressed in letters to Congress or the White House, editorials for the school or community newspaper, persuasive speeches, or visual presentations.

Why Use the Choices Approach? Choices curricula are informed by current educational research about how students learn best. Studies have consistently demonstrated that students of all abilities learn best when they are actively engaged with the material rather than listening passively to a lecture. Student-centered instructional activities motivate students and develop higher-order thinking skills. However, some high school educators find the transition from lecture format to student-centered instruction difficult. Lecture is often viewed as the most efficient way to cover the required material. Choices curricula offer teachers a flexible resource for covering course material while actively engaging students and developing skills in critical thinking, persuasive writing, and informed citizenship. The instructional activities that are central to Choices units can be valuable components in any teacher's repertoire of effective teaching strategies. Each Choices unit includes student readings, a framework of policy options, suggested lesson plans, and resources for structuring cooperative learning, role-plays, and simulations. Students are challenged to:

- recognize relationships between history and current issues
- analyze and evaluate multiple perspectives on an issue
- understand the internal logic of a viewpoint
- engage in informed debate
- identify and weigh the conflicting values represented by different points of view
- reflect upon personal values and priorities surrounding an issue
- develop and articulate original viewpoints on an issue
- communicate in written and oral presentations
- collaborate with peers

Teachers who use Choices units say the collaboration and interaction that take place are highly motivating for students. Opportunities abound for students to contribute their individual talents to the group presentations in the form of political cartoons, slogans, posters, or characterizations. These cooperative learning lessons invite students to take pride in their own contributions and the group product, enhancing students' self-esteem and confidence as learners. Choices units offer students with diverse abilities and learning styles the opportunity to contribute, collaborate, and achieve.

Note to Teachers

Since the first European settlers set foot in North America, immigration has suffused the American experience. Indeed, many of the values that unite Americans as a nation are tied to immigration. Immigration has not only framed our vision of the U.S. role in the world, but has seeped into our view of human nature. Ralph Waldo Emerson, for example, saw in immigration a phenomenon that "will construct a new race, a new religion, a new state, a new literature" in the United States.

The idealism surrounding immigration explains in large part the deep feelings it engenders in the public policy arena. In recent years, these sentiments have jostled with concerns about the economy, ethnic relations, social services, the environment, and other issues to recast the discourse on U.S. immigration policy. From 1980 to 1990, immigration law underwent a period of change comparable in importance to the reforms of 1965 and the early 1920s. At the same time, the debate over immigration has expanded to incorporate a broad range of foreign policy issues. The discussion now features arguments on U.S. relations with Latin America, human rights, international trade, and the worldwide refugee crisis.

U.S. Immigration Policy in an Unsettled World seeks to engage students in the leading issues driving the current immigration debate. At the core of the unit is a framework of four distinct options for U.S. immigration policy. By exploring a wide-ranging spectrum of alternatives, students gain a deeper understanding of the values underlying specific policy recommendations. The background reading is intended to prepare students to thoughtfully consider this complex topic. Part I reviews how the course of economic development, immigration trends, and foreign policy concerns has left an impact on the history of immigration law. Part II surveys the most important immigration trends of the past two decades, while Part III examines the most pressing immigration-related issues to prepare students to formulate their own ideas on the future direction of U.S. immigration policy.

Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan: The Teacher's Resource Book accompanying *U.S. Immigration Policy in an Unsettled World* contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities. The lesson plan opens with a document activity that recalls the values, attitudes, and concerns associated with immigration policy in the early 1900s. The second and third days of the lesson plan feature a simulation in which students assume the role of advocates for the four options. Two more documents are introduced on the fourth day to acquaint students with developments in immigration policy since 1981. Finally, on the fifth day, students consider the long-range consequences of their own options. You may also find the "Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan" useful.

The lesson plan offered in *U.S. Immigration Policy in an Unsettled World* is a guide. Many teachers choose to devote additional time to certain activities. We hope that these suggestions help you in tailoring the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

Integrating This Unit into Your Curriculum

Units produced by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Project are designed to be integrated into a variety of social studies courses. Below are a few ideas about where *U.S. Immigration Policy in an Unsettled World* might fit into your curriculum.

The Immigrant Experience: The experience of immigrants who have come to the United States in the last two decades contrasts sharply with conditions facing turn-of-the-century newcomers. Today's immigrants have available to them a broad array of social services. In many cities, school officials have set up bilingual education programs for students who are not proficient in English. Almost one-quarter of California's students, for example, are enrolled in bilingual classes. At the same time, newcomers today can no longer count on finding work in the increasingly automated manufacturing sector. Comparing the two main waves of American immigrants allows students to draw on history to examine questions involving the acculturation of newcomers in American society.

Salad Bowl vs. Melting Pot: The debate over immigration policy forces us to confront basic questions about the nature of American society. Until the 1960s, the great majority of Americans accepted the notion that the United States was a "melting pot" — a term first popularized by a sympathetic French diplomat at the time of the War for Independence. Since the civil rights movement, however, many racial and ethnic groups have drawn greater attention to their cultural uniqueness. In contrast to the assimilation envisioned by the "melting pot," they prefer to view the United States as a "salad bowl," in which each ingredient contributes to the flavor of the whole while retaining its distinctiveness. How valid are these two metaphors in describing American society, both today and in the past?

Immigration and Race: U.S. efforts to stem the flow of Haitians seeking refuge in our country prompted critics to label U.S. immigration policy as racist. Indeed, the history of immigration — from the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act to the Immigration and Naturalization Service's "Operation Wetback" in 1954 — is tarnished by explicit racism. The report of the 1911 Dillingham Commission was driven largely by a desire to maintain the dominance of Americans who traced their origins to northwestern Europe. What factors contributed to the fears of the commission members? Should Americans today be concerned that most immigrants entering the United States come from Latin America and Asia? How would students feel if they were Native Americans facing European immigration in the 1600s?

Minority Group Rights: Throughout much of the world, an individual's role in society is defined under law by his or her ethnicity, religion, or caste. In contrast, the rights of the individual in the United States have overshadowed group rights. Recent decades, however, have witnessed the development of affirmative action programs aimed specifically at minority groups. Critics of affirmative action have argued that such programs contribute to the fragmentation of society, while proponents contend that affirmative action helps make up for past discrimination. As America becomes more racially and ethnically diverse, particularly in states receiving large numbers of immigrants, issues involving group identity are bound to grow more complex. In the classroom, the controversy over affirmative action raises questions of how public resources and political influence are allocated in our society.

Birthright Citizenship: The 14th amendment, ratified in 1868, clearly granted citizenship to anyone born in the United States. At the time, the amendment was intended to clarify the status of African-Americans. The principle of birthright citizenship, however, has been subject to reassessment lately, particularly in Congress. The growth of the welfare state has made U.S. citizenship more valuable than ever, while the boom in international travel and the rise in illegal immigration have brought greater numbers of foreigners, including pregnant women, into the United States.

Immigration Policy in U.S. History

Objectives:

Students will:

- Weigh the role of immigration in shaping American identity.
- Examine the historical forces and values that influenced U.S. immigration policy in the early 1900s.
- Analyze the political attitudes expressed in historical documents.
- Compare the turn-of-the-century immigration policy debate with that of today.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the unit, students should have read Part I of the background reading (pages 1-4 of the student text) and completed "Study Guide — Part I" (page 4 of the teacher's guide).

Handouts:

- "Brief Statement of the Investigations of the Immigration (Dillingham) Commission" (page 5 of the teacher's guide). (More detailed excerpts of the commission's report are available on pages 24-29 of the student text.)

In the Classroom:

1. Probing American Identity — Ask students to imagine that they are preparing brief reports on the distinguishing features of various nations. For example, call on students to brainstorm responses to the question, "What is an Italian, or Japanese, or Saudi Arabian?" Note that these nations are defined largely in terms of ethnicity, language, religion, and culture. How are the responses different from answers to the question, "What is an American?" How has immigration influenced American national identity? Why have immigration patterns set the United States apart even from many of our neighbors in the Western Hemisphere?

2. Turn-of-the-Century Attitudes — Distribute "Brief Statement of the Investigations of the Immigration (Dillingham) Commission" and instruct students to quickly read it. Remind them that the commission presented its report to Congress in 1911, following a decade in which immigration was at record levels. Ask students to recall the historical antecedents of the Dillingham Commission report by reviewing Part I of the background reading. What prompted Congress to form the commission in 1907? What values are reflected in the report's recommendations? (Note the significance of the underlined phrases.) Why is the report considered a turning point in U.S. immigration policy?

3. Applying Today's Perspective — Call on students to compare the historical backdrop of the Dillingham Commission against current immigration trends. For example, what common features are shared by both the early 20th century and the 1990s (e.g., high rates of immigration, debate over the impact of immigrants on American society)? What are the leading differences (e.g., maturation of the U.S. economy, majority of immigrants now coming from Latin America and Asia)? How do the changes in the United States and the world since 1911 shape our perceptions of the commission's recommendations? How have the intervening decades altered our response to the question, "What is an American?"

Homework:

Students should read Parts II and III of the background reading (pages 5-13 of the student text) and complete "Study Guide — Parts II and III" (page 7 of the teacher's guide).

Day 1

Name:

Study Guide — Part I

The Role of Immigration in the American Experience

1. Why was the United States a magnet for immigrants in the 19th and early 20th centuries?

2. Why did U.S. lawmakers not feel the need to begin restricting immigration until 1875?

3. What factors prompted Congress to pass laws restricting immigration in 1917, 1921, and 1924?

4. How were changes in U.S. foreign policy after World War II reflected in U.S. immigration policy?

5. Why is the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 considered a major turning point in U.S. immigration law?

Brief Statement of the Investigations of the Immigration (Dillingham) Commission, 1911*

As a result of the investigation the Commission is unanimously of the opinion that in framing legislation emphasis should be laid upon the following principles:

1. While the American people, as in the past, welcome the oppressed of other lands, care should be taken that immigration be such both in quality and quantity as not to make too difficult the process of assimilation.

2. Since the existing law and further special legislation recommended in this report deal with the physically and morally unfit, further general legislation concerning the admission of aliens should be based primarily upon economic or business considerations touching the prosperity and economic well-being of our people.

3. The measure of the rational, healthy development of a country is not the extent of its investment of capital, its output of products, or its exports and imports, unless there is a corresponding economic opportunity afforded to the citizen dependent upon employment for his material, mental, and moral development.

4. The development of business may be brought about by means which lower the standard of living of the wage earners. A slow expansion of industry which would permit the adaptation and assimilation of the incoming labor supply is preferable to a very rapid industrial expansion which results in the immigration of laborers of low standards and efficiency, who imperil the American standard of wages and conditions of employment.

The Commission agrees that...

The investigations of the Commission show an oversupply of unskilled labor in basic industries to an extent which indicates an oversupply of unskilled labor in the industries of the country as a whole, a condition which demands legislation restricting the further admission of such unskilled labor.

It is desirable in making the restriction that—

(a) A sufficient number be debarred to produce a marked effect upon the present supply of unskilled labor.

(b) As far as possible, the aliens excluded should be those who come to this country with no intention to become American citizens or even to maintain a permanent residence here, but merely to save enough, by the adoption, if necessary, of low standards of living, to return permanently to their home country. Such persons are usually men unaccompanied by wives and children.

(c) As far as possible the aliens excluded should also be those who, by reason of their personal qualities or habits, would least readily be assimilated or would make the least desirable citizens.

The following methods of restricting immigration have been suggested:

(a) The exclusion of those unable to read or write in some language.

(b) The limitation of the number of each race arriving each year to a certain percentage of the average of that race arriving during a given period of years.

(c) The exclusion of unskilled laborers unaccompanied by wives or families.

(d) The limitation of the number of immigrants arriving annually at any port.

(e) The material increase in the amount of money required to be in the possession of the immigrant at the port of arrival.

(f) The material increase of the head tax.

(g) The levy of the head tax so as to make a marked discrimination in favor of men with families.

All these methods would be effective in one way or another in securing restrictions in a greater or less degree. A majority of the Commission favor the reading and writing test as the most feasible single method of restricting undesirable immigration.

*More detailed excerpts of the commission's report are available on pages 24-29 of the student text.

Role Playing the Four Options: Organization and Preparation

Objectives:

Students will:

- Analyze the issues that frame the debate on U.S. immigration policy.
- Identify the core underlying values of the options.
- Integrate the arguments and beliefs of the options and the background reading into a persuasive, coherent presentation.
- Work cooperatively within groups to organize effective presentations.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Parts II and III of the background reading (pages 5-13 of the student text) and completed "Study Guide — Parts II and III" (page 7 of the teacher's guide).

Handouts:

- "Presenting Your Option" (page 8 of the teacher's guide) for option groups.
- "Expressing Key Values" (page 9 of the teacher's guide) for option groups.
- "U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform" (page 10 of the teacher's guide) for commission members.

In the Classroom:

1. Planning for Group Work — In order to save time in the classroom, form student groups before beginning Day Two. During the class period of Day Two, students will be preparing for the Day Three simulation. Remind them to incorporate the background reading into the development of their presentations and questions.

2a. Option Groups — Form four groups of four students. Assign an option to each group. Distribute "Presenting Your Option" and "Expressing Key Values" to the four option groups. Inform students that each option group will be called upon in Day Three to present the case for its assigned option to the Commission on Immigration Reform. Explain that option groups should follow the instructions in "Presenting Your Option." Note that the option groups should begin by assigning each member a role.

2b. Commission Members — The remainder of the class will serve as members of the Commission on Immigration Reform. Distribute "U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform" to each commission member. While the option groups are preparing their presentations, members of the commission should develop cross-examination questions for Day Three. (See "U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform.") Remind commission members that they are expected to turn in their questions at the end of the simulation.

Suggestions:

In smaller classes, other teachers or administrators may be invited to serve as members of the commission. In larger classes, additional roles — such as those of newspaper reporter or lobbyist — may be assigned to students.

Extra Challenge:

Ask the option groups to design a poster or a political cartoon illustrating the best case for their options.

Homework:

Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

Name: Day 2

Study Guide — Parts II and III

A New Generation of Newcomers/Assessing the Impact of Immigration

1. Why are Daniel Alvarez and Vuong Khoa in many ways typical of the immigrants who have entered the United States since 1965?

2. Why has the issue of illegal aliens gained increased attention in recent years?

3. Why is U.S. policy toward illegal aliens often viewed as a foreign policy issue?

4. Why has pressure for change in U.S. refugee policy increased since the end of the Cold War?

5. Summarize the case for setting relatively low levels of immigration.

6. Summarize the case for setting relatively high levels of immigration.

Presenting Your Option

Preparing Your Presentation

Your Assignment: Your group has been called upon to appear before the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform. Your assignment is to persuade the commission members that your option should be the basis for U.S. policy. You will be judged on how well you present your option.

Organizing Your Group: Each member of your group will take a specific role. Below is a brief explanation of the responsibilities for each role.

1. *Spokesperson:* Your job is to explain the option of your group to the Commission on Immigration Reform in a three-to-five minute presentation. In preparing your presentation, you will receive help from the other members of your group. You should include arguments from their areas of expertise. Keep in mind, though, that you are expected to take the lead in organizing your group. Read your option and review the background reading to build a strong case for your option. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

2. *Domestic Policy Analyst:* Your job is to advise the spokesperson of your group on how your option would improve the lives of Americans here at home. Carefully read your option, and then review Part III of the background reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group spokesperson. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

3. *Foreign Policy Analyst:* Your job is to advise the spokesperson of your group on how your option would address our international interests. Carefully read your option, and then review Part II of the background reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group spokesperson. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

4. *Historian:* Your job is to advise the spokesperson of your group on how the lessons of history support your option. Carefully read your option, and then review Part I of the background reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group spokesperson. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

Making Your Case

After your preparations are completed, your spokesperson will deliver a three-to-five minute presentation to the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet and other notes may be used, but the spokesperson should speak clearly and convincingly. During the other presentations, you should try to identify the weak points of the competing options. After all of the groups have presented their options, members of the commission will ask you cross-examination questions. Any member of your group may respond during the cross-examination period.

Expressing Key Values

The notion of values lies at the core of this unit. Each of the four options in this unit revolves around a distinct set of values. The opening two paragraphs of your option are devoted to making a convincing case for the values that are represented. The term "values," however, is not easy to define. Most often, we think of values in connection with our personal lives. Our attitudes toward our families, friends, and communities are a reflection of our personal values.

Values play a critical role in our civic life as well. In the United States, our country's political system and foreign policy have been shaped by a wide range of values. The high value many Americans place on freedom, democracy, and individual liberty rings loudly throughout U.S. history. For most of our country's existence, the impulse to spread American values beyond our borders was outweighed by the desire to remain independent of foreign entanglements. Since World War II, however, the United States has played a larger role in world affairs than any other nation. At times, American leaders have emphasized the values of human rights and cooperation. On other occasions, the values of stability and security have been stressed. Many of these values have entered into the debate on immigration reform.

Some values fit together well. Others are in conflict. Americans are constantly being forced to choose among competing values in our ongoing discussion of public policy. Your job is to identify and explain the most important values underlying your option. These values should be clearly expressed by every member of your group. This worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

1. What are the two most important values underlying your option?

   a.

   b.

2. According to the values of your option, what image should the United States project to the world?

3. Why should the values of your option serve as the basis for our country's immigration policy?

U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform
Hearing on U.S. Immigration Policy

Your Role

You have been appointed by the White House and Congress to serve on the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform. The commission was formed under the Immigration Act of 1990 to examine our country's immigration policy and is due to deliver its final report in the fall of 1997. As you know, the rapid pace of change internationally and new challenges here at home have again placed immigration in the national spotlight. These hearings will introduce you to four distinct approaches to this question.

Your Assignment

While the four option groups are organizing their presentations, you should prepare two questions regarding each of the options. Your teacher will collect these questions at the end of Day Three.

Your questions should be challenging and critical. For example, a good question for Option 1 might be:

Isn't there a danger that high levels of immigration will overburden our country's social service system?

On Day Three, the four option groups will present their positions. After their presentations are completed, your teacher will call on you and your fellow commission members to ask questions. The "Evaluation Form" you receive is designed for you to record your impressions of the option groups. Part I should be filled out in class after the option groups make their presentations. Part II should be completed as homework. After this activity is concluded, you may be called upon to explain your evaluation of the option groups.

Role Playing the Four Options: Debate and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will:

- Articulate the leading values that frame the debate on U.S. immigration policy.
- Explore, debate, and evaluate multiple perspectives on U.S. immigration policy.
- Sharpen rhetorical skills through debate and discussion.
- Cooperate with classmates in staging a persuasive presentation.

Handouts:

- "Evaluation Form" (page 12 of the teacher's guide) for the commission members.

In the Classroom:

1. Setting the Stage — Organize the room so that the four option groups face a row of desks reserved for the Commission on Immigration Reform. Distribute "Evaluation Form" to the commission members. Instruct members of the commission to fill out the first part of their "Evaluation Form" during the course of the period. The second part of the worksheet should be completed as homework.

2. Managing the Simulation — Explain that the simulation will begin with three-to-five minute presentations by the spokespersons for the option groups. Encourage the spokespersons to speak clearly and convincingly.

3. Guiding Discussion — Following the presentations, invite members of the Commission on Immigration Reform to ask cross-examination questions. Make sure that each commission member has an opportunity to ask at least one question. The questions should be evenly distributed among all four option groups. If time permits, encourage members of the option groups to challenge the positions of the other groups. During cross-examination, allow any option group member to respond. (As an alternative approach, permit cross-examination after the presentation of each option.)

Homework:

Students should read "Summary of the Immigration in the National Interest Act of 1995" (page 14 of the teacher's guide) and "Summary of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996" (page 15 of the teacher's guide). (A more detailed summary of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 is available on pages 30-34 of the student text.)

Name:

Evaluation Form
U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform

Part I

What was the most persuasive argument presented in favor of this option?	What was the most persuasive argument presented against this option?
Option 1	*Option 1*
Option 2	*Option 2*
Option 3	*Option 3*
Option 4	*Option 4*

Part II

Which group presented its option most effectively? Explain your answer.

Weighing Immigration Reform

Objectives:

Students will:

- Compare the values and policy recommendations of the options with those found in the two documents under consideration.
- Assess the ethnic, economic, and cultural factors influencing immigration policy.
- Analyze the attitudes and perceptions embodied in the two documents.

Required Reading:

Students should have read "Summary of the Immigration in the National Interest Act of 1995" (page 14 of the teacher's guide) and "Summary of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996" (page 15 of the teacher's guide).

In the Classroom:

1. Analyzing Beliefs — Call on members of the Commission on Immigration Reform to share their evaluations of the option groups. Which arguments were most convincing? Which beliefs were most appealing? How do the provisions of the Immigration in the National Interest Act and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act compare to the policy recommendations of the options?

2. Comparing Legislation — Call on students to identify the main differences between the Immigration in the National Interest Act and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act. (The most important provisions of the two bills are underlined.) How do the two bills differ in their approaches to legal immigration? To illegal immigration? Invite students to voice their opinions of the two bills.

3. Prospects for Immigration Reform — Explain that the Immigration in the National Interest Act enjoyed bipartisan support when it was introduced in June 1995. (The bill reflected many of the preliminary recommendations of the bipartisan Commission on Immigration Reform.) However, many of the bill's early supporters, including President Clinton, turned against the legislation's proposals to reduce legal immigration. Ask students to assess the impact of election-year politics in 1996 on the reworking of the legislation. Why has immigration policy become a "hot-button" issue in American politics? What are the ethnic, economic, and cultural factors that have contributed to the sensivity of the issue? What are the prospects for developing a broader public consensus on immigration policy in the coming years?

Homework:

Students should read each of the four options (pages 15-22 of the student text), then moving beyond these options they should fill out "Focusing Your Thoughts" (page 17 of the teacher's guide), and complete "Your Option Five" (page 18 of the teacher's guide).

Summary of the Immigration in the National Interest Act of 1995

(The Immigration in the National Interest Act of 1995, which was introduced in the House of Representatives in June 1995, proposed a broad reform of U.S. immigration policy. The excerpts below present the key elements of the bill.)

Title I — Deterrence of Illegal Immigration through Improved Border Enforcement, Pilot Programs, and Interior Enforcement: Title I combats and deters illegal immigration by improving border security and establishing a series of pilot programs. This Title increases the number of border patrol agents by 1,000 per year from 1996 to 2,000, or an increase of 5,000 by the end of the decade. This Title improves physical barriers along the border by requiring the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to install physical barriers and construct roads to deter illegal crossings into the United States.

Title II — Enhanced Enforcement and Penalties against Alien Smuggling; Document Fraud: Title II enhances enforcement and penalties against alien smuggling, document fraud, and passport and visa offenses.

Title III — Inspection, Apprehension, Detention, Adjudication, and Removal of Inadmissible and Deportable Aliens: Title III reforms rules and procedures to make it easier to remove illegal aliens.

Title IV — Enforcement of Restrictions against Employment: Title IV enforces restrictions against the employment of aliens who are not authorized to work. No national ID card or modification of current identification documents is authorized.

Title V — Reform of the Legal Immigration System: Title V reforms the legal immigration system of the United States. This title creates three categories of immigrants to the United States: family sponsored immigrants, employment-based immigrants; and humanitarian immigrants.

This Title defines family-sponsored immigrants as follows: (1) spouses and unmarried children of U.S. citizens under twenty-one years of age; (2) spouses and unmarried children of lawful permanent residents under twenty-one years of age; and (3) parents of U.S. citizens. An approximate annual ceiling for family-sponsored immigrants is set at 330,000. For the first category, there is no annual limitation. For the second category, the annual limit is 85,000. For the third category, the annual limit is 50,000. (In addition, the existing backlog of spouses and children of permanent resident aliens would be reduced by 50,000 annually over a five-year period.)

This Title defines employment-based immigrants as aliens with extraordinary ability, high levels of education or training, and multinational executives and managers. Investor immigrants, who invest at least $1 million in a U.S. company that employs at least ten workers, are also defined as employment-based immigrants. An annual limit of 135,000 is set for employment-based immigrants.

This Title sets an annual target ceiling for humanitarian immigrants at 70,000, including refugees, asylees, and other humanitarian immigrants.

Title VI — Restrictions on Benefits for Aliens: Title VI specifies that illegal aliens are denied public benefits, makes enforceable the grounds for denying entry or removing aliens who are or are likely to become a public charge, and makes those who agree to sponsor immigrants legally responsible to support them.

Questions for consideration

1. What were the most significant proposals for change in the Immigration in the National Interest Act?

2. What do you think was the attitude of the bill's author toward U.S. immigration policy? Give examples.

Summary of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996*

(The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996, which was signed into law by President Clinton in September 1996, is based on the Immigration in the National Interest Act of 1995. The excerpts below focus on the portions of the bill that underwent the most significant changes during the legislative process.)

Title I — Improvements to Border Control, Facilitation of Legal Entry, and Interior Enforcement: Title I doubles the size of the Border Patrol by 2001 and calls on the agency to place a greater proportion of its officers in front-line positions along the U.S.-Mexican border. Hundreds of new inspectors are to be hired to prevent illegal immigrants from working and to find visitors who have illegally overstayed their visas. Title I specifies that a fourteen-mile triple fence is to be built south of San Diego. Funds are also provided to fingerprint illegal and criminal aliens.

Title III — Inspection, Apprehension, Detention, Adjudication, and Removal of Inadmissible and Deportable Aliens: Title III bars illegal aliens who have violated U.S. immigration laws from re-entering the United States for five to twenty years (depending on the seriousness of the violation). Illegal aliens convicted of an aggravated felony in the United States are permanently barred from entry. Title III expands the INS's capacity to monitor and deport criminal aliens. Title III gives examining immigration officers greater power to bar entry to aliens who arrive in the United States with false documents or no documents. Immigration officers are also given greater power to determine the validity of claims for asylum.

Title IV — Enforcement of Restrictions against Employment: Title IV provides funding to link the data bases of the INS and the Social Security Administration to determine the immigration status of job applicants. Employer participation in efforts to screen illegal aliens at job sites is voluntary.

Title V — Restrictions on Benefits for Aliens: Title V requires American citizens who are sponsoring immigrants to have an income at least 125 percent above the poverty level. The obligations of the sponsor (including a pledge to provide financial support for sponsored immigrants) is made legally enforceable under Title V. Illegal aliens are barred from receiving social security benefits and post-secondary federal student financial assistance.

Title VI — Miscellaneous Provisions: Title VI expands the definition of "refugee" to include people who have been subjected to a coercive population control program, such as forced sterilization or abortion. Title VI calls on states to phase in over six years tamper-proof, counterfeit-resistant driver's licenses and state-issued identification documents.

Questions for consideration

1. *What are the main differences between the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act and the Immigration in the National Interest Act?*

2. *In what areas of immigration policy is the new law likely to have the greatest impact? Explain your reasoning.*

*A more detailed summary of 1996 act is available on pages 30-34 of the student text.

Looking into the Future

Objectives:

Students will:

- Articulate coherent recommendations for U.S. immigration policy based on personally held values and historical understanding.
- Weigh the long-term consequences of individual policy recommendations.
- Compare underlying values and assumptions about the significance of immigration with classmates.

Required Reading:

Students should have read each of the four options (pages 15-22 of the student text) and completed "Focusing Your Thoughts" (page 17 of the teacher's guide) and "Your Option Five" (page 18 of the teacher's guide).

Handouts:

- "The Future of Immigration — 1998-2050" (page 19 of the teacher's guide).

In the Classroom:

1. Expressing Values — Review the beliefs in "Focusing Your Thoughts," noting the relationship between beliefs and policy options. Call on students to explain how their beliefs guided their responses in "Your Option Five."

2. Weighing Consequences — Distribute "The Future of U.S. Immigration — 1998-2050." Emphasize that immigration policies adopted today will greatly influence the development of the United States over the coming decades. After students read the instructions, call on them to explain how their options would affect the topics featured in the worksheet. Encourage students to distinguish differences among the options they have crafted. How do the options reflect contrasting values about where the United States is headed?

Extra Challenge:

As homework, instruct students to write a letter to a member of Congress, the president, or the editor of a local newspaper on their ideas for U.S. immigration policy. In the first part of the letter, students should summarize their responses to "Your Option Five," while in the second part they should assess the impact of their option on the United States over the coming decades. Suggest that students send their essays to the president or a member of Congress.

Encourage students to explore the local dimension of the immigration issue. Immigration lawyers, ethnic organizations, social service centers, business associations, and church groups are often at the forefront of the policy debate on immigration. Local political leaders could also be asked to express their opinions on the subject. In addition, students could assess the impact of recent reforms in U.S. immigration law on the local community.

Focusing Your Thoughts

Instructions: You have had an opportunity to consider four options on U.S. immigration policy. Now it is your turn to look at each of the options from your own perspective. Try each one on for size. Think about how the options address your concerns and hopes. You will find that each has its own risks and trade-offs, advantages and disadvantages. After you complete this worksheet, you will be asked to develop your own option on this issue.

Ranking the Options

Which of the options below do you prefer? Rank the options, with "1" being the best option for the United States to follow.

___ **Option 1: Opening Ourselves to the World**

___ **Option 2: Balancing Our Responsibilities**

___ **Option 3: Competing in a Competitive World**

___ **Option 4: Recognizing Our Limits**

Beliefs

Considering the statements below will help you answer the first four questions of "Your Option Five." Rate each of them according to your personal beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support
2 = Support
3 = Oppose
4 = Strongly Oppose
5 = Undecided

___ U.S. foreign policy should be based on a realistic assessment of our national interests, not on idealistic plans for saving the world.

___ As the most powerful nation in the world, the United States is capable of addressing suffering abroad while helping the disadvantaged here at home.

___ The problems affecting most poor countries are only going to get worse, regardless of U.S. assistance programs overseas.

___ The United States must remain a symbol of hope and opportunity for the people of the world.

___ Americans will face a struggle in the coming decades just to maintain their present lifestyle.

___ The greatness of the United States is based on its diversity and openness to fresh ideas.

___ The United States cannot isolate itself from problems beyond our borders.

___ Our country's ability to compete in the global economy will determine the fate of the United States in the coming century.

Creating Your Own Option

Your next assignment is to create an option that reflects your own beliefs and opinions. You may borrow heavily from one option, or you may combine ideas from two or three options. Or you may take a new approach altogether. There are, of course, no perfect solutions. And there is no right or wrong answer. Rather, you should strive to craft an option that is logical and persuasive. Be careful of contradictions. For example, you should not sharply reduce immigration if you believe that cultural diversity and fresh ideas are essential to our country's strength.

Name:

Your Option Five

Instructions: In this exercise, you will offer your own recommendations for U.S. immigration policy. Your responses to "Focusing Your Thoughts" should help you answer the first four questions.

1. How many legal immigrants, including refugees, should the United States allow to enter the country every year? Explain the basis of your decision.

2. How should the United States decide which applicants for immigration are admitted into the country?

3. How should the United States deal with the issue of illegal aliens?

4. What image of the United States does your option project to the rest of the world?

5. What are the two strongest arguments opposing your option?

   a.

   b.

6. What are the two strongest arguments supporting your option?

   a.

   b.

The Future of Immigration — 1998-2050

Instructions: Now that you have had an opportunity to develop your own option for U.S. immigration policy, consider the impact your recommendations will have on the future of the United States. Imagine the year is 2050. How will your option have influenced the following topics?

1. The economy:

2. Population and the environment:

3. Foreign policy:

4. Border control:

5. Social service costs:

6. Ethnic relations:

7. Stability in Mexico and the Caribbean:

Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan

Day 1: See Day One of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan. (Students should have read Part I of the background reading and completed the "Study Guide — Part I" before beginning the unit.)
Homework: Students should read Parts II and III of the background reading and complete "Study Guide — Parts II and III" as homework.

Day 2: Assign each student one of the four options, and allow a few minutes for students to familiarize themselves with the mindsets of the options. Call on students to evaluate the benefits and trade-offs of their assigned options. How do the options differ in their assumptions about the strengths and problems of our country? Moving beyond the options, ask students to imagine that they are participating in a meeting of the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform. What issues (i.e., illegal aliens, refugees, the economy, etc.) would they emphasize in the commission's report? Which values should guide the direction of U.S. immigration policy? Which options best meet the challenges facing the United States?
Homework: Students should complete "Focusing Your Thoughts" and "Your Option Five."

Day 3: See Day Five of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan.

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

Like the art of cooking, cooperative group learning is a skill that is rarely perfected on the first attempt, either by teachers or students. Yet with careful preparation, guidance, and practice significant gains can be made quickly. No single recipe guarantees success with cooperative learning or the Choices approach in every classroom. That would be impossible, since each classroom differs in its organization and size, and its unique collection of personalities and needs. However, this section of the Teacher's Resource Book offers a variety of ingredients for teachers to use as they adapt Choices curricula to their classrooms. The suggested ingredients that follow have been drawn from educational research on student-centered instruction and, more important, from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices curricula successfully in their classrooms over the past six years. Educators who have questions about using Choices curricula in their classrooms are encouraged to contact the Choices Education Project in writing, or by calling (401)863-3155. The Choices staff includes experienced classroom teachers who will be pleased to speak with you.

Designing Cooperative Learning Groups

Group Size: The key to successful cooperative group work is having a group assignment that is complex enough to require the participation of all group members. Planning the size and composition of working groups in advance is crucial to the successful use of Choices curricula. Research indicates that the ideal size for a cooperative learning group is four or five students. This is certainly the ideal size for group assignments in Choices units. When using Choices units in larger classes, the size of option (or, in the case of this unit, Future) groups may be expanded to six or seven students. However, it is important to keep in mind that whenever the number of students in a group is increased, the number of roles and expected outcomes must also be expanded.

Group Composition: A strength of cooperative learning is that it creates opportunities for students to work together in new combinations on challenging tasks. Cooperative learning not only requires the academic skills of reading, writing, and critical thinking, but the interpersonal skills of communication, negotiation, and problem-solving. In most cases, this style of instruction and learning is most effective when students are assigned to groups by the teacher rather than being allowed to work with their friends. While random group selection can be effective, in most classes successful group composition requires that the teacher consider the personalities, strengths, and needs of the students.

Groups comprised of students with diverse strengths, talents, and needs are ideal. For example, artistic students might be assigned to different groups to share their talents and perspectives, while less verbal students could be placed in groups with more outgoing students to help draw them into the lesson. Whenever possible, teachers should try to prevent one student from dominating a group. Explaining the instructions, roles, and ground rules for cooperative learning (see below) helps prevent this. Teachers may choose to group aggressive students with each other, leaving room in other groups for less assertive students to emerge as leaders. Finally, even though the negotiation of roles among the students in a group can be a valuable part of the cooperative learning experience, teachers might choose to assign certain roles, such as group spokesperson, in order to encourage leadership from more reticent students and to keep more aggressive students from dominating.

Students may initially complain about being assigned to groups that do not include their closest friends. We have found that, at the conclusion of the assignment, they will usually express satisfaction with their assigned partners, recognize that they got more accomplished, and sometimes even acknowledge the start of new friendships. The additional time involved in planning group size and composition will pay off when students are actively engaged, debating, and thinking critically.

Preparing Students for Cooperative Learning

Provide Clear Written Instructions: As with any assignment, students benefit from instructions and guidelines that clearly outline expectations and how they will be accomplished. These should be given to students in writing and reviewed with the class. Afterwards, as questions arise within groups, students should refer to the written instructions and attempt to answer each other's questions before asking for the teacher's assistance.

Establish Ground Rules: Especially when cooperative learning is a new experience, students benefit from the establishment of ground rules that are explained before groups are formed. Ground rules must be kept simple, and should be designed to keep students involved and on task. Posting these rules in a prominent place in the classroom can be very effective. An example of simple but effective ground rules for the cooperative group assignments could be:

Everybody has a role (or a job)
Everybody participates
Nobody dominates
Nobody interrupts

These rules can be enforced by appointing one student to serve as the group manager. The teacher can make it clear that one of the group manager's responsibilities is to enforce the ground rules as the group explores its assigned option and prepares its presentation. The group manager might also be required to make sure that members of the group stay on task and attempt to solve problems before asking for the teacher's assistance. Ground rules that are clear and used consistently can, over time, become an integral component of the classroom, facilitating learning and keeping students on task.

Managing the Choices Simulation

Recognize Time Limitations: At the heart of the Choices approach is the role-play simulation in which students advocate different options, question each other, and debate. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations and debate can increase the effectiveness of the simulation. Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of 45 to 50 minutes is necessary for the presentations and debate. Hence, if only one class period is available, student groups must be ready as soon as class begins. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the role-play simulation can be run over two days, but this disrupts the momentum of the debate. The best strategy for managing the role-play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each option presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up the debate. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations.

Highlight the Importance of Values: During the debate and debriefing, it is important to highlight the role of values in the options. Students should be instructed to identify the core values and priorities underlying the different options.

Moving Beyond the Options

As a culminating activity of a Choices unit, students are expected to articulate their own views of the issue under consideration. An effective way to move beyond the options debate to creating individual options is to have students consider which values in the options framework they hold most dear. Typically, students will hold several of these values simultaneously and will need to prioritize them to reach a considered judgment about the issue at hand. These values should be reflected in their own options and should shape the goals and policies they advocate.

Adjusting for Large and Small Classes

Choices units are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the simulation. With larger option groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement that represents the viewpoint of an option. In smaller classes, the teacher can serve as the moderator of the debate, and administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to play the roles of congressional leaders. Another alternative is to combine two small classes.

Applying Choices to Ability-Grouped Classes

Choices curricula are developed with the majority of high school students in mind. Choices units are not designed solely for students in honors or advanced placement programs. Nor are they designed specifically for students in remedial classes. However, the units are designed to be flexible enough for high school teachers to adapt for *any* classroom, and they have been used successfully in all kinds of classes. The Choices staff places confidence in the ability of teachers to decide which units are best suited for the courses and students they teach. The following suggestions may assist teachers of higher- and lower-ability classes in adapting Choices curricula to meet the needs of their students.

Lower-Ability Classes: It would be a mistake to believe that the Choices approach is too difficult for students in lower-ability classes. Teachers report that, with certain adaptations, Choices units can motivate higher levels of student participation, thinking, and confidence in lower-ability classes. Feedback from classroom teachers indicates that the following strategies lead to success with Choices in these classes:

- Maintain high expectations for student learning and thinking.
- Classes of all abilities do a better job with Choices the second or third time the approach is used. Skills in collaboration, communication, and critical thinking improve with practice.
- Some units are easier than others because the necessary background is particularly accessible. Use one of these first to give the students some experience with the approach.
- To make background readings more manageable, some teachers have students read aloud in class, stopping to discuss or clarify key points. Other teachers substitute shorter readings from the textbook or another source as background reading.
- Key concepts from the background can be explained in a mini-lecture format.
- Students can review and keep track of the important terms in a unit by creating their own glossary for reference throughout the unit.
- An extra day for review of the background, for group preparation, or for the development of individual options can be very worthwhile.

Higher-Ability Classes: Choices units have much to offer students in higher-ability and advanced placement classes. Students are challenged to understand the internal logic of different arguments and to extrapolate from these while playing the role of advocate. Two-week Choices units are especially rich in historical background, and they highlight the complex relationships among nations through many eras. Choices units on historical topics typically include a wealth of primary source documents for students to read and analyze. These documents can help to prepare students in advanced placement classes for the "Document Based Questions" included on advanced placement examinations. Extra challenge assignments are included in many lesson plans, and every Choices unit includes suggestions for additional reading and research.

Assessing Student Achievement

Grading Group Assignments: Research suggests that it is counterproductive to give students individual grades on cooperative group assignments. A significant part of the assignment given to the group is to cooperate in achieving a common goal, as opposed to looking out for individual interests. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group results. It may be useful to note that in addition to the cooperative group assignments, students complete individual assignments as well in every Choices unit.

Requiring Self-Evaluation: Having students complete self-evaluations is an extremely effective way to make them think about their own learning. Self-evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. A sample Group Project Self-Evaluation is included on the following page. Each student should complete his/her own evaluation as part of the unit. Two key benefits of student self-evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process, and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers to organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

Evaluating Student Options: The most important outcomes of a Choices unit are the original options developed and articulated by each student. These will differ significantly from one another, as students identify different values and priorities that shape their viewpoints. These options cannot be graded as right or wrong, but should be evaluated on clarity of expression, logic, and thoroughness. Did the student provide reasons for his/her viewpoint along with supporting evidence? Were the values clear and consistent throughout the option? Did the student identify the risks involved? Did the student present his/her option in a convincing manner?

Testing: In a formal evaluation of the Choices approach, it was demonstrated that students using Choices learned the factual information presented as well as or better than students who were taught in a more traditional lecture-discussion format. However, the larger benefits of the Choices approach were evident when students using Choices demonstrated significantly higher ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original viewpoints, compared to students who did not use this approach. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information, concepts, and current events presented in Choices units. However, a simple multiple-choice examination will not allow students to demonstrate the critical thinking and communication skills developed through the Choices unit. If teachers choose to test students, they may wish to explore new models of test design that require students to do more than recognize correct answers. Tests should not replace the development of student options.

For Further Reading: Cohen, Elizabeth G. *Designing Groupwork: Strategies for the Heterogeneous Classroom* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1986).

Group Project Self-Evaluation

1. What did you contribute to this project?

2. List the names of your partners and briefly comment on each person's contributions.

3. What things went well within your group?

4. What problems did you encounter? How did you attempt to resolve these problems?

5. If you had this assignment to do over again, with the same partners, what would you do differently?

6. Overall, what grade do you think your group deserves on this assignment? Explain your response.

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